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*Basic Education and Economic Development: A Comparative Study of Japan, China and India**

G. Balatchandirane, Rajiv Ranjan and Sreemati Chakrabarti

"It is only by building up his character, developing his mind, and cultivating his talents that man may make his way in the world, employ his wealth wisely, make his business prosper, and thus attain the goal of life. But man cannot build up his character, develop his mind, or cultivate his talents without education—that is the reason for the establishment of schools."

– Preamble to Japan's Fundamental Code of Education, 1872[1]

". . . the peasants preferred the old-style schools ('Chinese classes', as they called them) to the modern schools (which they called 'foreign classes') and the old-style teachers to the ones in the primary schools. Now the peasants are enthusiastically establishing evening classes, which they call peasants schools . . . . Before long tens of thousands of schools will have sprung up in the villages throughout the province; this is quite different from the empty talk about 'universal education', which . . . after all this time remains an empty phrase."

– Mao Tse-Tung, March 1927[2]

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[1] The translated version is from Kumaji Yoshida, "European and American Influences in Japanese Education", in Inazo Nitobe et al., eds, *Western Influences in Modern Japan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), pp. 34–35 as quoted in Herbert Passin, *Society and Education in Japan* (Columbia: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1967), p. 210.

[2] "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, vol. 1 (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1967), p. 54.

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> "I say without fear of my figures being challenged successfully, that today India is more illiterate than it was fifty or a hundred years ago, . . . I defy anybody to fulfil a programme of compulsory primary education of these masses inside of a century. This very poor country of mine is ill able to sustain such an expensive method of (European) education. Our State would revive the old village schoolmaster and dot every village with a school both for boys and girls."
>
> – Mahatma Gandhi
> At Chatham House, London, 20 October, 1931[3]

The present article makes an attempt to examine the correlation between the educational attainments of the people and the indicators of economic development of Japan, China and India in the initial decades of their planned developmental efforts. We premise our investigation on the following two hypotheses:

A. That there are strong mutually reinforcing linkages between educational attainments and opportunities for upward mobility created by economic development.
B. That the political will to ensure community participation rather than the projected high finances is the crucial determinant in the dissemination of basic education.

Linkages between Basic Education and Economic Development

Before exploring the linkages between basic education and economic development, we need to define the concepts used. The terms "basic learning needs" and "basic education" have been used interchangeably and are defined as follows:

- *Basic learning needs* refers to the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values necessary for people to survive, to improve the quality of their lives and to continue learning.
- *Basic education* refers to education intended to meet basic learning needs. It includes instruction at the first or foundation level, on which subsequent learning can be based; it encompasses early childhood and primary (or elementary) education for children, as well as education in literacy, general knowledge and life skills for youth and adults; and may extend into secondary education in some countries.[4]

[3] Quoted in Anil Sadgopal, *Background Material*, Convention on "Education as a Fundamental Right" in the context of the proposed 83rd Amendment to the Constitution of India and its implications for the ninth plan, 18 December 1977, University of Delhi, Department of Education, Delhi, p. 1.

[4] As quoted in Manzoor Ahmed, Cheng Kai Ming, A.K. Jalaluddin and K. Ramachandran, *Basic Education and National Development: Lessons from China and India* (New York: UNICEF, 1991), p. 23. These definitions are from the background document to the *World Conference for Education for All, Meeting Basic Learning Needs: A Vision for the 1990s* (New York: UNICEF, 1990), "Glossary", p. ix.

This article attempts a comparison of the experiences in the spread of education in the three countries as they passed through the early stages of economic development. Wherever possible, the change in the literacy rates would be used as an indicator of the spread of basic education. Spread of basic education can have a positive impact on a country that has set out on economic modernization in the following ways.

First, by definition a country at a low level of economic development is one in which the technological level, particularly in industry, is low compared to the best production processes available in the world. Thus there will be a great incentive for this country to import industrial and other technologies to produce various goods for consumption. The ability to read and write on the part of the workers would greatly facilitate the introduction of new production processes. Additionally, exposure to education would make the labour force receptive to new ideas. Hence, the larger the percentage of the population exposed to basic education, the easier is the importation, adaptation, diffusion and absorption of the new technologies. The lower the literacy and educational attainments of the population, the greater would be the difficulty to assimilate the imported technology and raise output levels.

Second, low levels of basic educational development prevent integration with the world market. The existing inequalities in educational achievement translate into inequalities in utilizing new economic opportunities. This implies failure on two fronts. First, the *overall* scale of expansion of employment-generating modern production suffers. A low spread of elementary education can severely hinder successful integration with the world market. For example, the nature and range of goods exported by South Korea since the 1970s or by China from the 1980s show clearly how crucial is basic education in catering to the world market, with production specification and quality control. Second, there is also a failure on the *distributive* front. The smaller the share of the population the less participatory will the growth process be. Only a small section of the nation would find that its income-earning power has been enhanced. The lack of elementary education can make the goal of economic expansion very hard to achieve.[5]

Third, the spread of literacy in a developing country has the potential to raise the level of responsiveness to skills training. This is called "training in being trained". To put it simply, an individual who has undergone some kind of training in educational attainments would be receptive to further training. This could be at the factory level where a new technology is being applied or at the village level where a new seed is being introduced. Such training is all the more effective if it is imparted in the form of spoken word, which is readily understood.[6]

Fourth, there is an important non-economic influence of the spread of education. A society that is at a low level of economic development and attempts at rapid

[5] Amartya Sen, "Radical Needs and Moderate Reforms", in Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen, eds, *Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 21–22.

[6] R.P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (London: The Athlone Press, 1984), p. 292.

modernization giving due importance to investments in basic education, would soon find that the pre-modern norms of social and economic advancement become less and less important. While earlier a person's family background was an important factor in determining how far he could move up the socio-economic ladder, in the changed environment where education is valued, a person's capability, skills and merit would determine a person's mobility in life. With the dilution of pre-modern values there is the gradual creation of a new society that places increasing emphasis on merit in determining a person's social mobility. The liberalization wave would further open up new economic opportunities in a competitive environment, thereby resulting in a meritocracy.

Finally, basic education has additional positive impact on society. There is enough evidence to show that basic education leads to higher productivity in activities that increase household welfare. For instance, schooling of girls led to reduced fertility and infant and child mortality rates, as well as improved household health through better nutritional and health care practices.[7]

Despite the above-mentioned advantages, spread of education need not *necessarily* lead to a perceptible rise in the values of the traditionally identified variables of economic development as the exact nature of the relationship between intellectual and economic poverty has not been conclusively demonstrated.[8] There are a number of issues that may thwart the smooth interaction between education and economic development. And after a point of time it might be difficult to know whether education led to economic development or vice-versa. The clear-cut causative nature of education in triggering off economic progress has not been documented with accurate statistical evidence. While the links are obvious, there is a debate over the cause and effect which is beyond the scope of this article.

[7] See for instance, The World Bank, *Primary Education in India* (New Delhi: The Allied Publishers Limited, 1997), p. 39.

[8] Suzanne Pepper, *Radicalism and Education Reform in 20th Century China: The Search for an Ideal Development Model* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 5. This did not, however, preclude the acceptance, ". . . almost as an article of faith that the two were related". Thus Pepper holds that,

> Education was . . . valued both for the individual and for the larger society, not only as a basic human right and a measure of progress but also as a prerequisite for economic advancement and its concomitant benefits. Expectations were initially such that education was imbued with all the attributes of an independent force—capable in itself of promoting economic development, modernization, national integration, independence and reduced population growth, as well as a more equitable distribution of opportunity and income. Similarly, for the individual, education would provide the socialization and skills necessary to increase productivity, enhance earning power, promote upward social mobility, and allow fuller participation in political life.

With hindsight it is possible to wonder how people invested education with all these capabilities, but as the author quotes the pithy phrase that F. Champion Ward used in his Introduction to a volume edited by him, *Education and Development Reconsidered: The Bellagio Conference Papers* (New York: Praeger, 1974), it indeed was "an age of innocence".

A review of the experience of China and India shows that

> there should not be an expectation of a direct and linear relationship between a program of basic education and indicators of social and economic development, such as productivity of farmers and other workers, rate of youth unemployment, population growth rate, or infant and child mortality and life expectancy at birth.[9]

But this is not by any means a negative commentary on the value of basic education. Empirical evidence suggests that effective expansion of basic education does have a positive influence. The real question is "not whether and how much basic education is necessary, but how to enhance the beneficial consequences of basic education in specific circumstances".[10]

In this context, what is relevant is the fact that when human development takes the centrestage in the overall scheme of national development, the linkage between education and national development is facilitated. Thus, when countries like China and India look on human development as the goal of national development, the "connection and synergy between basic education and national development fall into place naturally". In fact, basic education then "becomes an integral part of development, as well as a facilitator of other elements of development".[11]

Rationale for Inter-country Comparisons

Kazushi Ohkawa has pioneered the comparative analysis approach in his various writings. Simply put, this approach holds that the development experience of various countries can be compared and useful lessons can be learnt. For instance, it is possible to study the case of historical Japan and compare it with the experience of present-day developing nations with regard to various aspects of development. The Modern Economic Growth (MEG) period can be identified on the basis of performance of various macro variables. In the case of Japan, MEG lasted from 1885 to the early 1970s. Likewise the MEG period can be determined for various developing countries. Once that is done, it is possible to divide the period into various phases and sub-phases. Phase I of Japan can be compared with Phase I of a developing country even if the calendar dates for this phase for the two countries in question are different. This approach was adopted by numerous research projects resulting in valuable lessons for the developing countries. We have based our study on Ohkawa's approach, which has been used effectively in a number of research works till date.[12]

[9] Manzoor Ahmed et al., *Basic Education*, p. 5.

[10] Ibid., pp. 67–68.

[11] Ibid., p. 6. Human development is defined as "fulfilling human needs, realizing each person's human potential and ensuring a life with human dignity for all".

[12] For this, see the various working papers of the International Development Center of Japan, Tokyo. To appreciate the Ohkawa approach it might be easiest to start with one of his latest books. See Kazushi Ohkawa in collaboration with Katsuo Otsuka and Bernard Key, *Growth*

For the developing countries, the East Asian experience with education merits close study. Japan historically and South Korea in the early 1960s had identified education as a crucial sector needing sustained investment to ensure economic growth. The important point is that the level of investment in countries like South Korea thirty years ago was higher than what it is in India today. Further, countries like Korea are spending more on the large base which has been built up than what India is doing today on a much smaller base.

Five factors are responsible for the difference in economic performance and growth patterns between the high-growth economies of East Asia and countries of South Asia. They are: investment in education, outward-looking trade strategies, institutional reforms, mobilizing savings and investment and good governance.[13]

While there is broad agreement on the first factor, namely East Asia's emphasis on primary education, there is no agreement on the rest of the four factors. In fact emphasis on primary education is found to be the "most critical difference" between the two regions.[14] East Asia not only spent two to three times more on education out of its GNP as compared to South Asia, it also emphasized universal, high-quality primary education. Seventy per cent of East Asian educational budgets were spent on primary education. This contrasts starkly with the South Asian countries which spend substantial shares of their meagre budget allocations for education on higher education in the form of subsidies and other grants. Further, East Asia invested much more than South Asia in technical education.[15]

The East Asian experience is relevant not just because of the overall rapid growth that it displays in the recent past, but for the *nature* of the growth. The thrust is on *participatory* economic expansion, which is not the same thing as high levels of achievement in specific sectors. In the 1960s and 1970s, Brazil recorded high growth rates, but there was little reduction of poverty with social backwardness and sectional deprivation prevailing all over the country. The main reason was the lack of participatory growth. Compared to the Brazilian type of growth, the East Asian pattern is indicative of a much more inclusive growth process. Spread of basic education on a large scale facilitated this kind of widely shared, participatory growth.[16]

Mechanism of Developing Economies: Investment, Productivity and Employment (San Francisco: International Center for Economic Growth and Tokyo: International Development Center of Japan, 1993). Another useful work is Kazushi Ohkawa and Hirohisa Kohama, *Lectures on Developing Economies: Japan's Experience and its Relevance* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1989). Ohkawa had been building up a theoretical basis for the comparative analysis approach since the mid-1970s. He had employed this approach in the various reports prepared for the Economic Planning Agency of Japan since 1977 under the heading *Japan's Historical Development Experience and the Contemporary Developing Countries: Issues for Comparative Analysis* (Tokyo: International Development Center of Japan, various years).

[13] Mahbub ul Haq, *Human Development in South Asia 1997* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 3.

[14] Ibid., p. 66.

[15] Ibid., p. 3.

[16] Drèze and Sen, *India: Economic Development*, pp. 182–83. Also see Sen, "Radical Needs", pp. 21–22.

Planning for Mass Education

With regard to education, in the initial decades of planned development, Japan decided to follow the contemporary European model by emphasizing a compulsory dose of liberal science and civic discipline to attain the capitalistic goals of "rich country, strong army"; China opted for the Soviet model to orient its citizens as workers on the basis of the socialist doctrine; and India preferred to adopt the mixed economy approach in order to realize the Nehruvian vision of socialistic egalitarianism through state-regulated production and distribution mechanisms.

In as much as the educational policy of a nation is a reflection of the respective political and economic set-up and the goals cherished within that framework, all the three countries experimented with the best available options of the times, often out of political compulsions rather than economic necessity.

Japan

Unlike China and India, which had to contend with two diametrically opposite models of planned economic growth in the mid-twentieth century, namely the exploitative capitalist system of Europe and the less experimented but promising Soviet model, the politico-intellectual stimuli of European liberalism that Japan experienced in the mid-nineteenth century resulted in the emergence of political, economic and education systems based on an authoritarian enforcement of liberal scientific traditions of Europe. This dictated the hasty adoption of the French educational system with American textbooks translated into Japanese, with later modifications.

The massive plan to educate the whole of Japan by establishing a Ministry of Education in 1871, and the proclamation through the 109 Articles of the Preamble to the Fundamental Code of Education of 1872,[17] to establish a national school system to provide universal access to education were daunting tasks in view of the serious problems with regard to resources, infrastructure and personnel. The Preamble clearly stresses the need to overcome the "evil traditions" of indulging in poetry, empty reasoning and idle discussions in the name of education and learning, and cultivate the multifarious human talent and character, by language, writing and arithmetic for the furtherance of military affairs, government, agriculture, trade, arts, law, politics, astronomy, and medicine.[18]

[17] Under its 109 Articles (later increased to 213), the entire country was divided into eight university districts, each university district into thirty-two middle school districts and each middle school district into 210 primary school districts. In this way, a total number of 54,760 primary schools were to be built. The costs of elementary education were to be borne by the people, with minimal aid from the central government. See Passin, *Society and Education*, p. 210.

[18] Ibid., pp. 210–11.

In order to provide universal, utilitarian education, the centralized administrative system established nearly 27,000 elementary schools[19] and 107 middle schools throughout Japan, with community residents bearing the construction costs. Nearly 5,000 teachers were invited from abroad.[20] The textbooks adopted in lower-grade classes in elementary schools in the early days of the new education system were for the most part unrevised translations of textbooks used in public elementary schools in America. Further, until the normal schools (that is, teacher training schools) began to operate, the services of the educated samurai, public-spirited citizens, and former *terakoya* (parish school) teachers had to be used. Partly because the salaries were too low for teachers and partly because the new textbooks were difficult and incomprehensible to them to accept as a basis of instruction, it was difficult to attract and keep qualified people in the teaching profession.[21]

As far as the infrastructure was concerned, an 1875 survey revealed that 18 per cent of the schools were housed in new buildings, 40 per cent were housed in Buddhist temples, 33 per cent were housed in private homes, and 9 per cent in public buildings such as government buildings, companies, shrines, warehouses, former domain mansions, and so on.[22] In concrete terms, there were 3,600 new primary schools functioning. Another 1,300 schools opened by the end of 1876 after which the momentum slowed down.[23]

The problem of enforcing four-year compulsory attendance was addressed often with police help, inviting public resistance to the system. The people also resisted the unaffordable fees which ranged between 25 and 50 sen a month[24] and the school schedules that did not take into account the farmers' need for the labour of their children.[25] Both universal conscription and compulsory education came under

[19] Bryon K. Marshall, *Learning to be Modern: Japanese Political Discourse on Education* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), p. 47.

[20] Passin, *Society and Education*, p. 72.

[21] Ibid., pp. 75–76.

[22] Ibid., p. 74.

[23] Marshall, *Learning to be Modern*, p. 47.

[24] Ibid., pp. 78–79. Considering the fact that the per capita income in 1878 was 21 yen for the employed population, the fees of 25–50 sen (1 yen = 100 sen) was bound to keep the attendance down. As late as 1893 the wages for girls between thirteen and twenty-four who worked twelve-hour shifts (and were made to work nineteen hours if the plant was busy) in a model cotton spinning plant where working conditions were "reputedly excellent", was eight to ten sen a day. Six yen a day was deducted for the meals leaving a net earning of two to four sen a day. It would have cost close to half of the "take home" pay of an average woman worker in a good cotton spinning plant to pay for the monthly fees for one child. Cf. Mikiso Hane, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), p. 145. It was not till 1900 that education became entirely free in all parts of the country.

[25] The rumour that the primary schools were for the purpose of securing recruits for the army spread widely and thus the anti-conscription sentiments enveloped the public schools as well. The conscription law used the phrase "blood tax", which the masses literally took to mean that the conscripts would be drained of their blood. Further, there were also rumours that the government was making wine out of the recruits' blood for export and that the red colour used in blankets, flags, and army caps was made of the soldiers' blood. Passin, *Society and Education*, p. 80.

organized violent attack in different parts of the country which compelled the government to use force to quell such movements and to issue the new Education Ordinance of 1879. The liberal contents of the new Ordinance had two objectives: to be responsive to the popular sentiments and to overcome the problem of attendance which had started stagnating by then.[26]

The centralized education system of 1872 failed mainly because the central government lacked a commitment to subsidize the system; it expected the people to pay for their education. As Table 1 indicates, the funding for the primary education system had to depend almost entirely upon local sources—tax revenues and private donations. While the central government funding stood at 10 per cent in 1873, it declined to 5 per cent by 1879.

Table 1
Income Sources of Public Elementary Schools in Japan, 1873–81 (%)

	1873	*1874*	*1875*	*1876*	*1877*	*1878*	*1879*	*1880*	*1881*
Funds brought forward	0.0	13.2	22.1	13.5	15.2	17.7	18.8	18.9	14.8
Tuition	6.3	6.9	5.9	5.7	5.8	4.8	4.5	4.3	4.1
Contributions	19.1	24.8	18.3	16.6	10.6	10.8	7.4	6.6	7.9
Local district funds	43.3	33.3	30.1	36.5	40.1	41.9	42.2	41.1	46.1
Mombusho (Ministry of Education)	12.6	6.2	8.9	9.8	8.2	6.2	5.5	5.4	2.0
Interest on endowment	13.4	8.1	9.2	9.9	12.3	9.7	9.7	9.5	9.7
Others	5.3	7.5	5.7	8.0	7.8	6.7	6.0	4.7	4.2
Area tax	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	5.9	9.5	11.2

Source: Richard Rubinger, "Education: From One Room to One System", Mauris B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman, eds, *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 216.

Even in places where no direct fees were charged, poor families often sent their children either to work alongside adults on the factory or the farm as assistants or to tend the infants at home in order to enable adult members to be economically more productive. However, the gradual improvement in the economic status of the people coupled with stricter State enforcement of school attendance and zero fee obligation, ensured a gradual and definite rise in enrolment and attendance by the

[26] While enrolment figures for 1879 were 58 per cent for boys and 23 per cent for girls compared to 50 per cent and 19 per cent respectively for 1875, the actual attendance was much lower. Even in the capital city, only a little more than half of all primary school-aged children were actually attending school in 1877. A survey, conducted by the Education Ministry in 1882, estimated that nationwide, 56 per cent were enrolled in elementary schools and no more than 65 per cent of those attended regularly. In other words barely over one-third of the age group was in the classroom regularly. These figures are national averages and hence indicate much higher indices than the reality in the major part of the provinces. See Marshall, *Learning to be Modern*, p. 47.

first decade of the twentieth century. The government which faced serious budgetary constraints in the 1970s and 1980s had also gradually recovered enough to implement its plans.[27] The improvement in the government's education policy came after several revisions and counter-revisions between 1879 and 1907, characterized by a reaction against an excessive dose of westernization in the modernization process.

The first of these ordinances, promulgated in September 1879, was designed by the Education Minister, Tanaka Fujimaro, after his return from an educational observation trip to the United States. It proposed an American system of decentralization in both administration and financing. It abolished the strong centralized control system as well as the school district system, leaving the administration of each school to the local community and its respective administrative body. It also recommended the constitution of an elected school board with the authority of inspection and administration vested in the community as a whole. For students in the age group of six to fourteen, compulsory attendance was brought down from four years to sixteen months, corporal punishment was abolished and provisions were made for the simplification of text materials and rotation of teachers among schools which did not have the financial strength to maintain an adequate staff. In the case of educational content too, centrally determined educational objectives were to be adjusted to the living conditions and distinctive local characteristics of the people.

Such a *laissez-faire* policy in education with an overdose of American individualism and freedom[28] was criticized as damaging to the higher values of Confucian morality centred on the family, by people like Motoda Eifu, the Confucian teacher to the Emperor. As an immediate consequence, the Ordinance of September 1879 was replaced by an Imperial Rescript, known as *Kyogaku Taishi* (The Great Principles of Education) in December 1879, which entrusted the prefecture governors with the task of establishing the regulations within the framework of the policy laid down by the Ministry and according high priority to moral values in the curriculum, while enforcing the first three years of compulsory education at the primary level. It abolished the public election of the school board, replacing it by a system of appointment by the community, and made the community responsible for establishing

[27] Marshall, *Learning to be Modern*, p. 51.

[28] Although France influenced the structural plan of education of 1872, the early foreign influences on Meiji curriculum and pedagogy were predominantly American. The head of the Education Ministry, Oki Takato, turned for advice to his former teacher, Guido Verbeck, a Dutch-born American missionary. Mori Arinori, the Education Minister from 1885 onwards too collected written opinions from prominent US educationists, one of whom, Professor David Murray of Rutgers University, was invited to advise the government at the highest level. In 1876, the Education Ministry sent 16 educators to study at State Normal School at Bridgewater, Massachusetts. With the reversal in policy from American liberalism to Japanese conservatism, the Americans who had been hired in key roles as advisors in the Education Ministry and at other levels, began to leave: David Murray in 1879, Marion Scott in 1881, Luther W. Mason in 1882. Marshall, *Learning to be Modern*, pp. 33, 80.

enough primary schools, under the direction of the prefecture governor, to accommodate all children of the schoolgoing age group. The final authority of the Ministry of Education for setting standards and affirming the decisions of the local and prefecture administration was restored.[29]

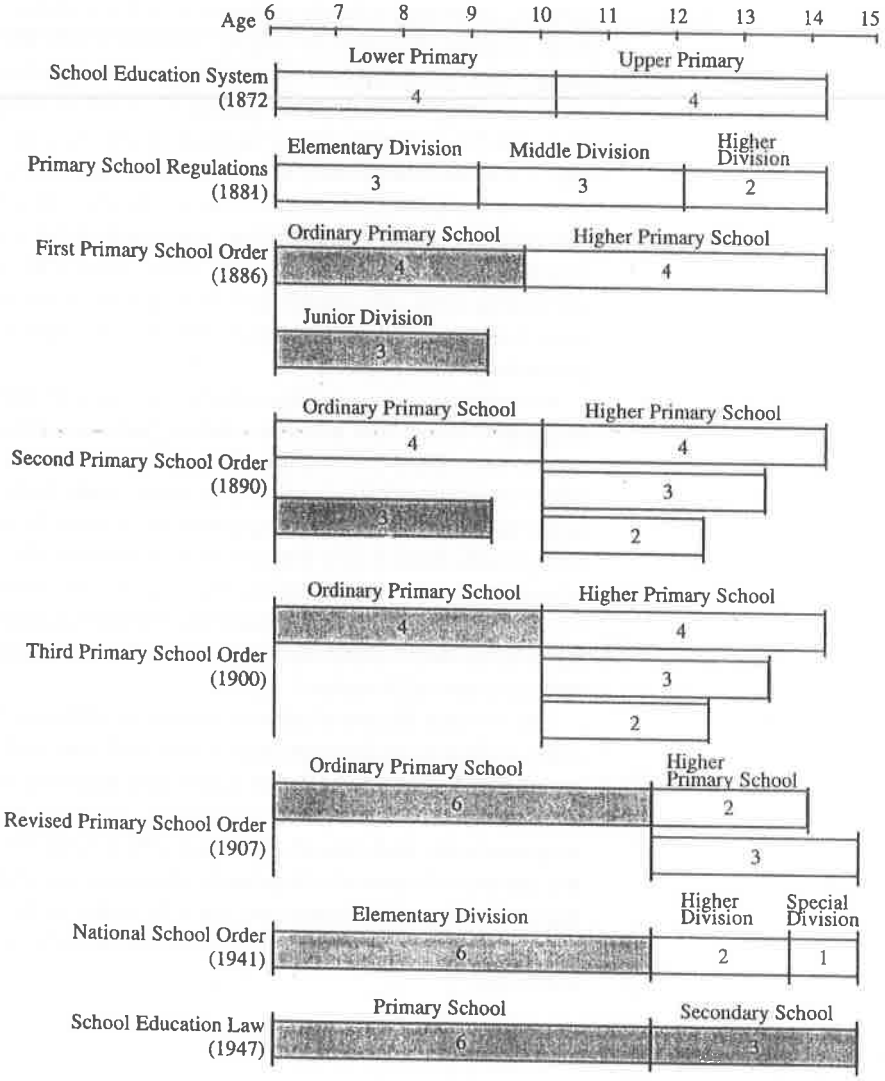
The Imperial Rescript was succeeded by a similar order in 1881 about primary schools, secondary schools and normal schools under a new education minister, Kono Togama who replaced Tanaka Fujimaro. Under the new scheme, schools were categorized into primary division (three years compulsory), middle division (three years) and higher division (two years). Yet another order in August 1885 sought to deal with the problems of local finances by reducing the expenses of each community. Then came the Primary School Order of April 1886, which completed the foundation of the primary education system, dividing the primary schools once again into ordinary primary schools (four years) and higher primary schools (four years). Junior primary schools of less than three years with less than three hours daily attendance were also established in response to the needs of economically deprived sections and were supported by the fees paid by the students' families or guarantors[30] (see Figure 1).

Inconsistencies in planning, namely, expecting the economically underprivileged majority to invest their precious working hours and the unaffordable high fees in an enterprise without either immediate or assured returns, were gradually removed. The 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education made further modifications and made apprentice and vocational supplementary schools to the primary schools. It also brought into force a new authorization system for the standardization of primary school textbooks all over Japan. The educational methods of a German educator, J.F. Herbart, were introduced after 1892. Herbart's educational ideas were favourably received as they valued the cultivation of moral refinement and were consistent with the Imperial Rescript.[31]

The Primary School order was revised in 1900 and 1907 once again. The 1900 order unified the ordinary primary school with four years of compulsory school and recommended the exemption of tuition fees wherever required. For the first time, a national subsidy system for educational expenses was established. In 1907, in response to the high rate of attendance (98 per cent for boys, 96 per cent for girls) the number of years of compulsory education was extended from four to six and higher primary education to two years. With this order, the Japanese school education system was formally established till the reforms of the Occupation Period (1945–52).[32]

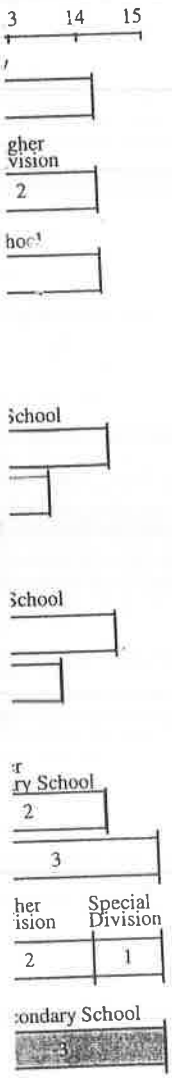
[29] Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, ed., *The Role of Education in the Social and Economic Development of Japan* (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1966), pp. 31–32.
[30] Ibid., pp. 32–35.
[31] Ibid., p. 36.
[32] Ibid., p. 36.

Figure 1
Changes in Primary School Education System in Japan
(Compulsory Period Indicated by Shaded Area)



Source: Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *The Role of Education in the Social and Economic Development of Japan* (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1966), p. 51.

Despite ideological differences and consequent shifts in direction, Japan's tremendous success in creating an infrastructure for mass education and attaining one of the highest levels of literacy in the world, at par with England and Prussia but behind Sweden and France by a few percentage points at the outset of the twentieth century,[33] remains undisputed, even if the content of the syllabi and organization of the educational network were geared to serve the political rather than economic compulsions.



ation in the Social
tion, 1966), p. 51.

China

While trying to attain the goal of transforming every child into a politically conscious, socially responsible and morally self-sacrificing individual, China had to go through a process of trial and error in matters of educational policies from 1949 onwards. In view of the fact that its educational planning was designed to meet the twin objectives of ideological indoctrination (red), and creation of skilled personnel (expert) to overcome economic problems, the entire period from 1949 onwards was marked by shifting emphasis and debate over the red-expert seesaw.[34] The initial period (1949–52) was a period of consolidation of the previous Nationalist First Five-Year Plan (1953–57). The Great Leap Forward (1958–61) and the post-Leap adjustment period (1962–65) were marked by vacillations in educational expansion. The Cultural Revolution (1966–76) and the Four Modernization Reforms (1978 onwards) represent extreme examples of going in either direction. As China struggled to strike a balance between education as a means of continuing the revolution through class struggle, and political consciousness, and education as a means of supplying skilled human resources to increase production,[35] Mao and other leaders had to come out with new ideas from time to time to combine both theory and practice. Such ideas were characterized by less emphasis on the number of hours in classrooms and more on political socialization and vocational training by means of actual practice at the farm, factory or office.

Building upon his experience[36] at Yanan (1935–49) on issues such as integration of theory and practice, close link between politics and education, short school terms, education to meet immediate needs, winter schools, half-day schools, *Min-pan* schools (people managed schools with government assistance), etc., and utilizing the infrastructure patterned on the American liberal traditions which the KMT (Kuomintang or Guomindang) had built during 1927–49, and the pro tem constitution

[33] Marshall, *Learning to be Modern*, pp. 88–89.

[34] John Hawkins, "Educational Reform and Development in the People's Republic of China", in Philip G. Altbach et al., eds, *Comparative Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1982), p. 411. Also see Charles Price Ridley et al., *The Making of a Model Citizen in Communist China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), Chapter 2.

[35] John Hawkins, "Educational Reform", p. 414.

[36] Hsien Chen, *The Maoist Educational Revolution* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 12.

of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), known as the Common Programme, Mao outlined the basic goals of education.[37]

Subsequently, the Chinese government held a series of national conferences between 1949 and 1951 on different aspects of education in order to implement the recommendations of the Common Programme. Then the government issued the "Decisions concerning the Reform of the Educational System". The immediate task was to educate and train the vast number of administrators and technical personnel required to run the country, by linking secondary and higher education with the needs of defence and production. In addition, many short-term measures were also undertaken. These included small courses to provide secondary school education for ex-PLA (People's Liberation Army) men who were to form the backbone of the new administration, and a Chinese People's University for training the workers and peasants to be administrators. There was a plan to increase the number of engineering, agricultural, teacher-training and technical schools at a late stage.

[37] The relevant Articles are:

Article 41: The culture and education of the People's Republic of China are now democratic, that is, national, scientific and popular. The main tasks for raising the cultural level of the people are: training of personnel for national construction work; liquidating of feudal, comprador, Fascist ideology, and developing of the ideology of serving the people.

Article 42: Love for the fatherland and the people, love of labour, love of science and taking care of public property shall be promoted as the public spirit of all nationals of the People's Republic of China.

Article 43: Efforts shall be made to develop the natural sciences to place them at the service of industrial, agricultural, and national defense construction. Scientific discoveries and inventions shall be encouraged and rewarded, and scientific knowledge shall be popularized.

Article 44: The application of a scientific, historical viewpoint to the study and interpretation of history, economics, politics, culture and international affairs shall be promoted. Outstanding works of social science shall be encouraged and rewarded.

Article 45: Literature and the arts shall be promoted to serve the people, to enlighten the political consciousness of the people and to encourage the labour enthusiasm of the people. Outstanding works of literature and the arts shall be encouraged and rewarded. The people's drama and cinema shall be developed.

Article 46: The method of education of the people's government shall reform the educational system, subject matter and teaching methods systematically according to plan.

Article 47: In order to meet the widespread needs of revolutionary work and national construction work, universal education shall be carried out. Middle (i.e. secondary) and higher education shall be strengthened; technical education shall be stressed; the education of workers during their spare time and the education of cadres who are at their posts shall be strengthened; revolutionary political education shall be strengthened; and revolutionary political education shall be accorded to young intellectuals and old-style intellectuals in a planned and systematic manner (quoted in R.F. Price, *Education in Communist China* [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975], p. 29).

Simultaneously, an attempt was undertaken to re-orient the old intelligentsia to the needs of a socialist society.[38]

Till 1955, while attempts were made to remove illiteracy as well as to unify and coordinate the inherited system of primary and secondary schools, there was a conspicuous absence of any plan or policy for developing and universalizing primary education among masses. For instance, the 1953 education campaign stressed that elementary education was basically designed to prepare skilled personnel for production needs and not to serve as a springboard for higher education. As a result, not more than one-third of those who passed out from the elementary schools could enter middle schools.[39]

In a society where the tradition of scholar-official and the examination system had placed a high premium on learning as a means of upward social and political mobility, such a policy tended to throttle the demand by restricting the supply. Although the principle of free compulsory education was accepted in China, ironically, the economic consequences of such a policy were so burdensome that most students paid fees in some form or other for the six years of elementary schooling and were most likely to be deprived of further schooling even if they could afford it. Though the Ministry of Education announced its intention to take over all the private schools, it soon realized the financial implications of directly supporting a drastic increase in students and facilities. Therefore, it began to encourage the creation of schools outside the State-supported system, that is, by villages, factories, and other enterprises and local communities.[40]

The formula of *min-pan-kung-chu* (people's management–government assistance), was adopted. This was a legacy of the Yanan experiment which meant that the schools were to be established by the local people with the government standing by to provide assistance when needed. Government assistance did not mean financial support, but government supervision over broad plans and policies. This was done to maintain a balance between the need for educational expansion and the huge financial costs involved in maintaining the educational network. As far as the curriculum, selection of teachers and administration were concerned, in the early period, they were all left to the people, except the sensitive issues of political education and social activities, which were kept under party supervision.[41]

China provides a good example of a society where low financial investment by the state has not been an impediment to tackle the problem of illiteracy. To appreciate China's success in reaching a fairly good literacy level, one needs to go back into the early history of the Communist Party. The liberation struggle of the Chinese people led by the Communist Party of China included continuous stress on education which played a significant role in the post-liberation period. The post-Mao

[38] Ridley et al., *The Making of a Model*, p. 34.
[39] Ibid., p. 34.
[40] Ibid., p. 32.
[41] Ibid., p. 33.

reforms would have been much more difficult to implement if China's literacy levels had not been as high as they were. To appreciate the efforts made during the period of liberation, one has to look into the period of struggle against imperialism and feudalism. The Chinese communist leadership understood from the very beginning that education was absolutely necessary for indoctrination into the ideology of Marxism–Leninism. Without a literate mass it would have been difficult to spread the message of communism. Hence the importance of education was stressed in all the policy measures undertaken by the party, both before and after 1949. Campaigns for literacy were organized periodically in the communist base areas even during times of crises. In these campaigns the poor peasants were particularly targeted and non-formal methods were adopted. At liberation, China's literacy rate was around 20 per cent. However, with the experience of the base areas the new regime, shortly after coming to power, intensified the literacy campaigns along with other socio-economic programmes like land reforms, cooperativization and communization. This was done by the mass organizations of the party. The peasant associations, women's organizations, trade unions, youth associations, etc., performed their task with a revolutionary zeal characteristic of that period. Both teachers and teaching-aids were provided by these organizations and people were not charged any fee for attending classes. The main responsibility for basic education rested with the local level government (the production brigade after 1958) and in many cases the resources were provided by the community. Very poor communities, for instance, provided labour for construction of the school building or shed. The spread of non-formal education in rural areas was attempted through various methods, which were characterized by their flexibility and convenience.[42] Measures included spare-time schools, off-season schools, night schools, mobile schools, doorstep education and winter schools. Radio and television, film shows, posters, banners, etc., were widely used to disseminate education-related information among both the literacy activists as well as the prospective beneficiaries. Large numbers of leaflets, flyers and booklets were also printed and distributed free of cost. Peasant literacy textbooks, the contents of which varied from province to province, were printed regularly and widely distributed. Imparting education through informal or semi-formal methods was a unique feature of the Chinese State. Much of China's informally imparted education helped in raising literacy rates. The formal stream in contrast was marked by favouritism, red tape, and poor quality.

Considering the fact that education was conceived as a tool of political socialization, the government's decision to stay away from the responsibilities of administrative, financial and academic management by means of a neat decentralization, was indeed a clever move. It not only freed the government of heavy responsibilities of mass education, but also fit in well with the theory of mass-line by making the schools directly answerable to the masses. What was imparted was political education which meant two things: the symbolic integration of manual and intellectual

[42] For more details on this, see Sreemati Chakrabarti, "Women and Adult Literacy in China: A Preliminary Enquiry", *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, July–December, 1995.

labour (even at the primary school level) and universalization of Mandarin Chinese as the standard national language replacing diverse regional dialects. Beyond these very basic objectives, elementary education was intended to ideally prepare the student in history, geography, arithmetic and other primary studies. In most schools, language, politics, and basic arithmetic probably remained the core of the curriculum, emphasizing once again the supremacy of political over economic considerations.[43]

This becomes evident from several official pronouncements like that of Lu Dingyi, who said in April 1960:

> All students in our present senior middle (secondary) schools now are full manpower units. For this reason, we cannot afford to extend our present senior middle school education to too many persons . . . . Should we try to increase this number, we would take away too much manpower from production.

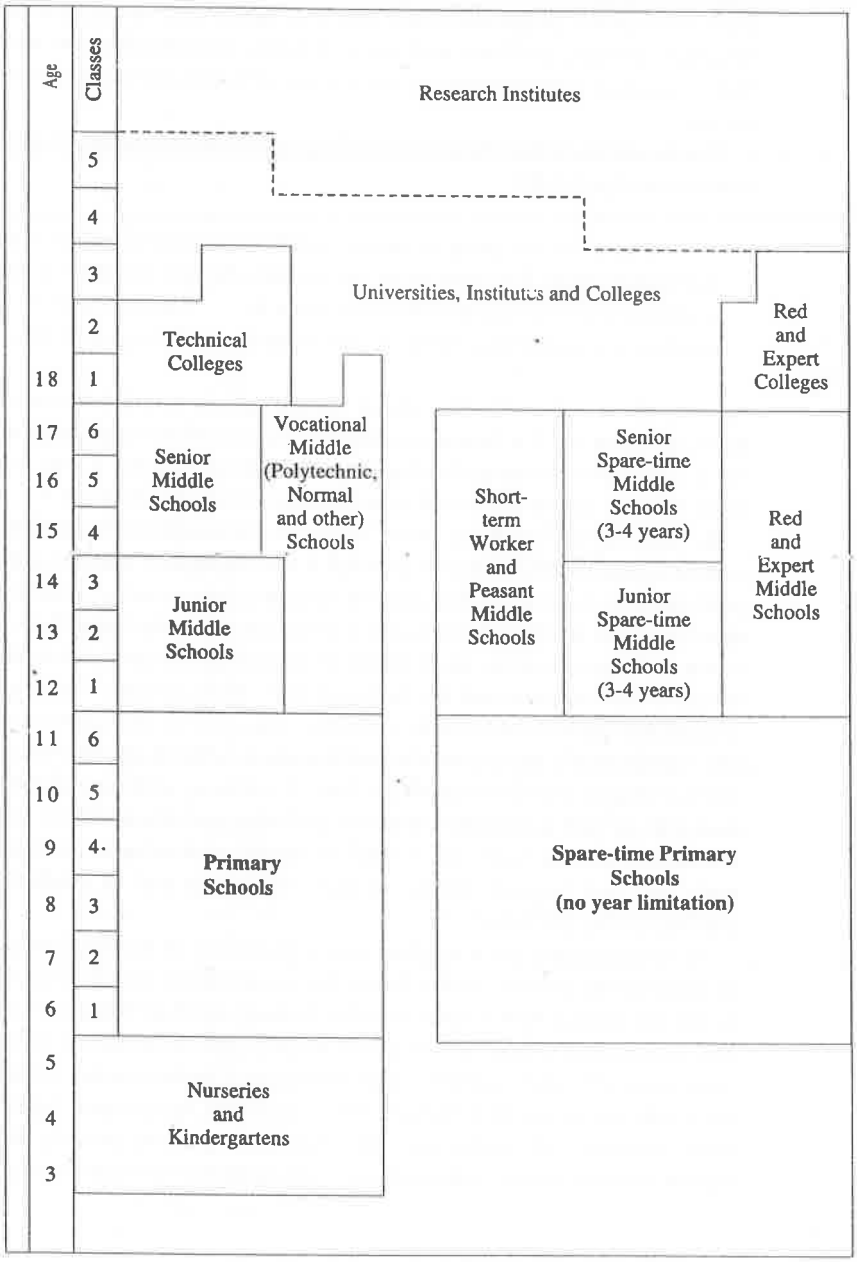
He also advocated a ten-year school system, which would terminate between 16 and 17 years of age. Lu Dingyi also argued in favour of new-type, part-work schools. As the part-work schools developed in the following years it was often said that these schools paved the way for the popularization of education.[44]

In 1958, the CCP and the State Council in consonance with the Great Leap Forward policies issued a directive in which it was stated that "education must fulfill its political role, must serve the cause of the proletariat, must be combined with productive labour and finally it must be carried out under the leadership of the Party". From that time onwards, more emphasis was placed on productive labour, both in the part-work schools and the full-time ones. Mao Zedong's statement that "our educational policy must enable everyone who gets an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a cultured, socialist-minded worker" and Lu Dingyi's further exposition that "A cultured, socialist-minded worker is a man who is both politically conscious and educated. He is able to undertake both mental and manual work. He is what we regard as developed in an all-round way, both 'red' and 'expert'. He is a worker-intellectual and an intellectual worker", reinforced this position.[45]

Notwithstanding the modelling and remodelling of the mass education system throughout the period—either due to the experimental nature of the reform, or due to the ideological battle between Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi or, as in the post-Mao period, due to the drift toward the market-centered model of mass-education—three most prevalent models can be identified. The first model, which emerged in the 1960s under Soviet influence, was a dual track system (see Figure 2). The first track consisted of regular nurseries and kindergartens, primary schools, junior middle schools, senior middle schools running parallel to vocational middle schools,

[43] Ridley et al., *The Making of a Model*, p. 33.
[44] Ibid., p. 34.
[45] Price, *Education in Communist China*, pp. 34–35.

Figure 2
Educational Structure in China in the 1960s



Source: John N. Hawkins, *Education and Social Change in the People's Republic of China* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983), p. 34.

technical colleges and regular universities and research institutes. The second track consisted of a variety of short-cycle educational programmes with a spare-time primary school system at the lower level meant for adults, basic primary education for urban and rural youngsters left out of the regular system, and short-cycle programmes for workers and peasants at both junior and senior schools at middle level. It included "red and expert" colleges, also, meant to raise the academic quality of those students in the regular track. Under the impact of the Great Leap Forward, the "red" was given priority over the "expert" in actual practice. Preference for the schooling of poor and lower-middle peasants was quite evident in the countryside.[46]

The second model emerged in the 1970s (see Figure 3) as a result of revision both in the form and content as part of the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, leading to the merger of the two-track system into one basic format for both collegiate and pre-collegiate levels. At the pre-collegiate level, élite schools were abolished and the spare time schools were merged with the regular schools. In most places the elementary and secondary cycles were trimmed. A spare time programme continued to operate in industrial and agricultural areas, but it was primarily meant for adults. All these changes intended to equalize educational opportunity, universalize basic education and to blur the distinction between school and society. Now, there were to be no key schools or special programmes, and no educational gaps between rural and urban set-ups.[47]

After Mao's death in 1976, and the launching of Four Modernization Reforms under a leadership which was opposed to Mao's fundamental principles, came the third model. Through this model several features of the first model of the 1960s and 1970s re-emerged. A refurbished three-track system was launched (see Figure 4) in contrast to the dual track of the 1960s and the single mass track of the Cultural Revolution period. This new model of the 1980s restored the lock-step system, restricting access to higher education to a small 4 per cent of the screened talent after twelve years of schooling, assuring thereby a work moratorium of indeterminate length for the majority of the Chinese youth.[48]

The first two models brought about impressive results in terms of both access to basic education and growth in literacy and made China the model of educational planning and administration for the developing countries. The third model, by applying post-Mao economic reforms to the schools in the form of hiked student fees, rising costs and decentralized financing in the 1980s and 1990s, created an economic crisis in the nation's education system. Ironically, by the mid-1990s, China started grappling with the same unresolved contradictions and dilemmas of modernizing Chinese society that had captured the attention of Chinese reformers during the 1920s. And these are bound to persist in the twenty-first century.[49]

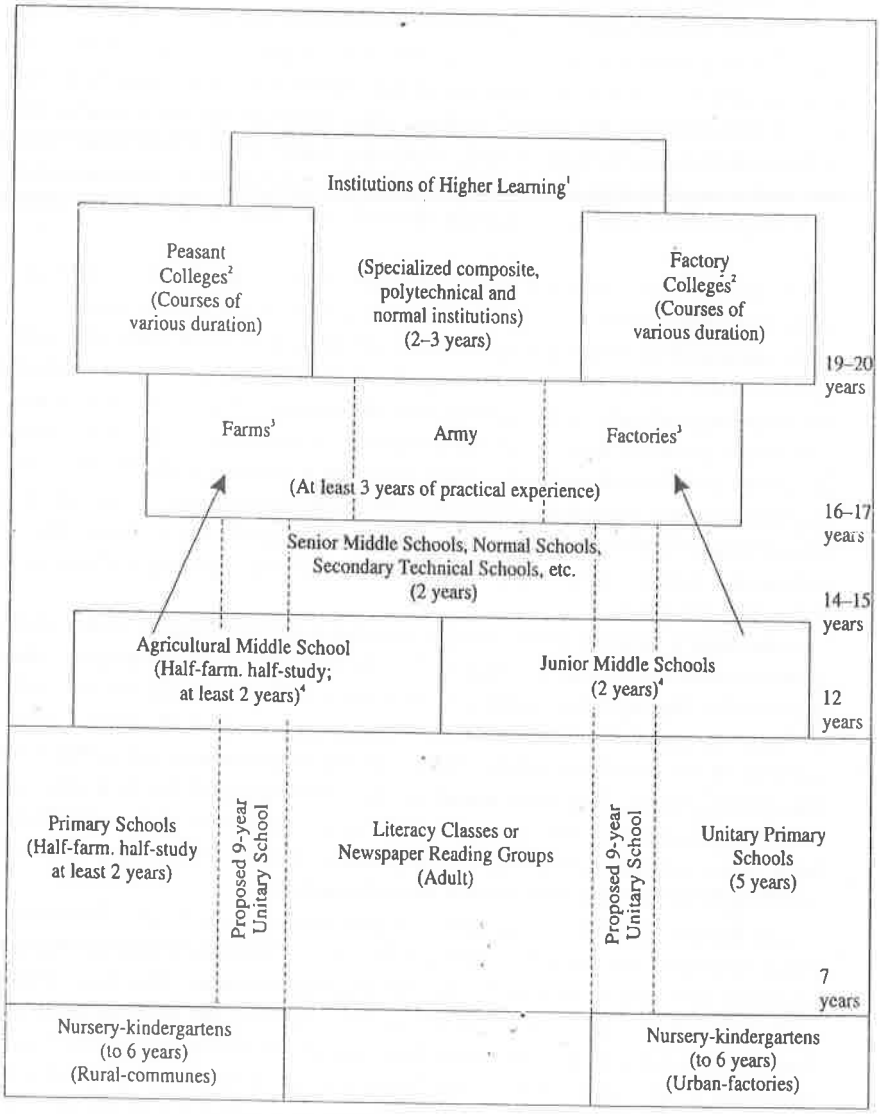
[46] J.N. Hawkins, "The Structure of the Educational System", in J.N. Hawkins, ed., *Education and Social Change in the People's Republic of China* (New York: Praeger, 1983), p. 31.

[47] Ibid., p. 35.

[48] Ibid., pp. 35–39.

[49] Suzanne Pepper, *Radicalism and Education*, pp. 534–36.

Figure 3
Educational Structure in China in the 1970s


Institutions of Higher Learning[1]
Peasant Colleges[2] (Courses of various duration)
(Specialized composite, polytechnical and normal institutions) (2–3 years)
Factory Colleges[2] (Courses of various duration)
19–20 years
Farms[3]
Army
Factories[3]
(At least 3 years of practical experience)
16–17 years
Senior Middle Schools, Normal Schools, Secondary Technical Schools, etc. (2 years)
14–15 years
Agricultural Middle School (Half-farm. half-study; at least 2 years)[4]
Junior Middle Schools (2 years)[4]
12 years
Primary Schools (Half-farm. half-study at least 2 years)
Proposed 9-year Unitary School
Literacy Classes or Newspaper Reading Groups (Adult)
Proposed 9-year Unitary School
Unitary Primary Schools (5 years)
7 years
Nursery-kindergartens (to 6 years) (Rural-communes)
Nursery-kindergartens (to 6 years) (Urban-factories)

Notes: [1] Supported and administered by the state.
[2] Supported and administered by communes or factories.
[3] Schools run by factories, farms and military or political organs (cadre schools for 1, 2 or 3 years) are not represented.
[4] Short-term schools and specialized short courses are not represented.

Source: Hawkins, *Education and Social Change*, p. 36.

India

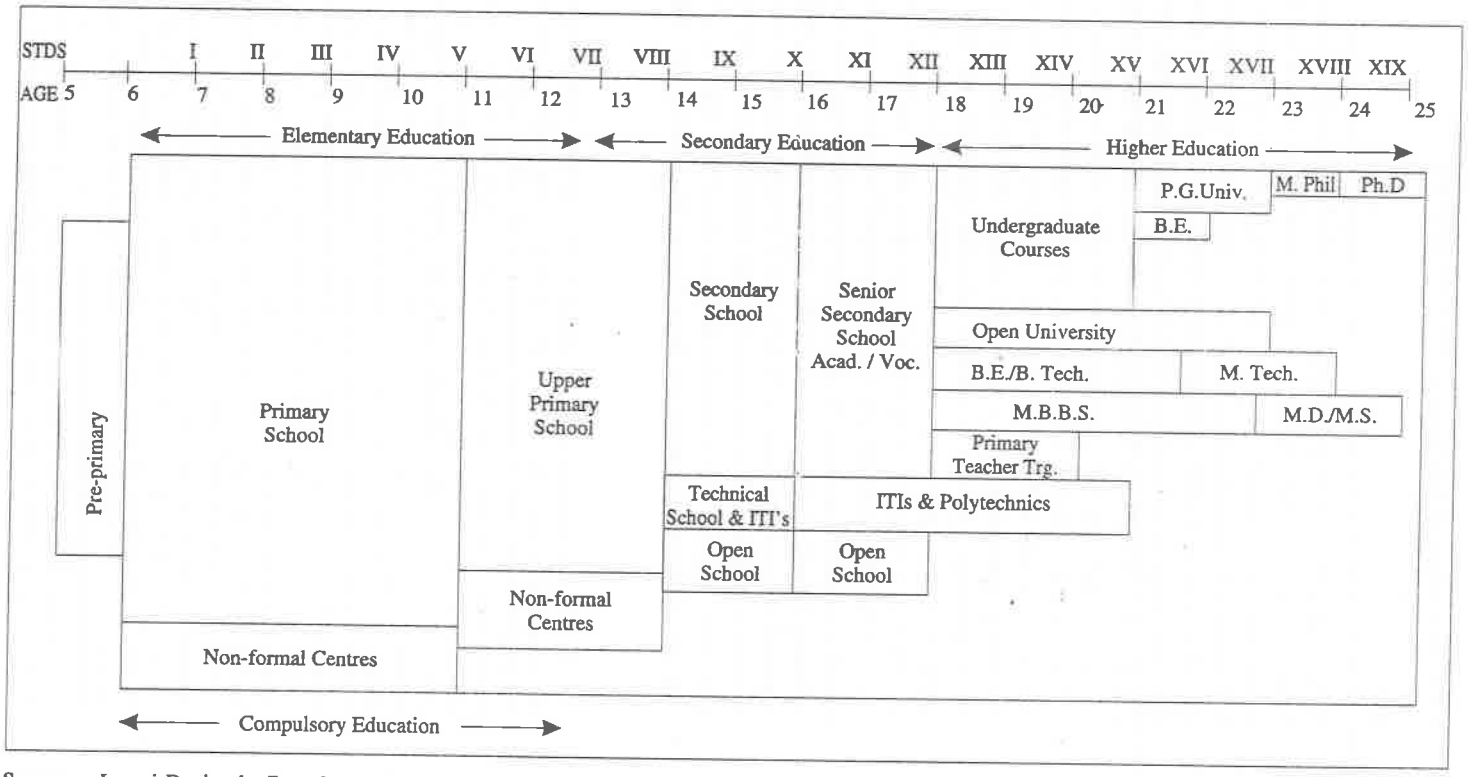
India's postcolonial leadership under the aegis of the Congress party followed the Soviet model of modernization. It continued to allocate an ever-higher proportion of the country's resources to heavy industries, defence and related projects, and higher and technical education. Such policy priorities totally neglected the elementary education sector that was marked by under-investment and ad-hocism till the National Policy on Education of 1986 brought a shift in priorities. Once again, as in China, politico-intellectual compulsions were behind the national agenda for education. (For the structure of the Indian education system see Figure 5.)

The deadline in India's constitutional commitment to attain free and compulsory education for all children up to 14 years of age by 1960 (Article 45)[50] has been repeatedly extended by every successive plan.[51] This clearly underlines the failure of the planning agencies to allocate adequate resources, as well as to create a sound infrastructure, not only in terms of buildings, libraries, equipment and furniture but also in terms of a meaningful curriculum and a qualified cadre of teachers. Since 1944, when John Sergeant, the Education Commissioner to the Government of India, submitted a comprehensive educational development plan to the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE), educational planning in India has been impaired by empty rhetoric and a lack of any proper evaluation of requisite needs, resource constraints, future projections and implementation methods. It should be noted here that the CABE which had been set up way back in 1935 as the main educational planning agency, has been playing the leading role in the formulation

[50] The Directive Principle contained in Article 45 of the Constitution enjoins that "the State shall endeavor to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years". The expression "the State" which occurs in this Article is defined in Article 12 to include the Government and Parliament of India, the government and the legislature of the states and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India. In addition, Article 29(1) of the Constitution provides that "any section of the citizens, residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same", and Article 29(2) lays down that "no citizen shall be denied admission into educational institution maintained by the state or receiving aid out of state funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them". Further Article 30(1) enjoins that "all minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice", while Article 30(2) lays down that "the state shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language". Moreover, Article 350(A) lays down that "it shall be the endeavor of every state and of every local authority within the state to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups".

[51] The new deadline for achieving total literacy is A.D. 2005. Government of India, *The Economic Survey 1996–97* (New Delhi: Ministry of Finance, Economic Division, 1996), p. 186.

Figure 5
Educational Structure in India



Source: Laxmi Devi, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Educational Development and Planning*, Vol. II (Educational Devlopment) (Lucknow: Institute for Sustainable Development and New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1996).

and monitoring of educational policies and programmes, which include, inter alia, National Policy on Education (1968), National Policy on Education (1986), Programme of Action (1986), and the revisions made in the last two in 1992.[52]

The main features of the first educational planning, popularly known as Sergeant Report were as follows:

1. It was spread over a period of forty years (1945–84);
2. an estimated Rs 11 per every 100 persons at 1939 prices was to be incurred;
3. provision of facilities for one child in every twenty-one at the pre-preliminary stage;
4. free and compulsory education on basic lines for all children in the age group of 6–11;
5. compulsory senior basic education for three years for 4/5th of the children in the age group of 11–14;
6. secondary education for selected and gifted children (for one child out of every five who completed the primary course);
7. university education for one out of every fifteen students who completed the secondary school;
8. a fair sized programme of technical education and the provision of other ancillary services;
9. removal of adult illiteracy; and
10. approximately 11 per cent of the expenditure was to come from fees and other sources and the rest from public taxation.[53]

Sergeant's long-term plan, spread over a period of forty years, should have taken into account critical estimates of future projections based on demographic changes and the consequent growth in demand for education, economic development and the cost escalation, and a realistic year-wise break-up of the sources of income to finance the plan. Further, this plan was conspicuously silent on the issue of developing an educational infrastructure and a cadre of qualified teachers[54] and the costs involved; the plan provided estimates for the recurring expenditure only, that too for 1984 at 1939 prices. But the Kher Committee, appointed by CABE in 1949 to examine the matter, recommended reduction of the time-frame from forty to sixteen

[52] R.V. Vaidyanatha Ayyar, "Educational Planning and Administration in India: Retrospect and Prospect", *Journal of Planning and Administration*, vol. vii, no. 2, April 1993, pp. 197–214.

[53] Laxmi Devi et al., "Educational Planning in India", in Laxmi Devi, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Educational Development & Planning, vol. 4 (Educational Planning)* (Lucknow: Institute for Sustainable Development and New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1996), p. 88.

[54] The issue of teaching staff was comprehensively taken up by the appointment by the Government of India, of two National Commissions on Teachers, one for the school stage and the other for higher education (including technical education) in February 1983. The reports were submitted in March 1985. Reports of earlier Commissions on Education such as Radhakrishnan Commission (1948–49), Mudaliar Commission (1952–53) and Kothari Commission (1964–66) too spent a chapter or two on the teachers' issue.

years. It was also silent on the strategy to ensure participation of the masses below the poverty line.

Two fundamental problems of India's educational planning, namely underinvestment due to inverted priorities and poor mass participation due to economic backwardness, have persisted even in the 1990s making the goal of universal literacy unattainable even in the early twenty-first century. This remains true despite the government's claim to have attained an enrolment level of 91 per cent of children in the 6–14 age group by 1994–95,[55] and also to have set up primary schools within a reasonable walking distance to 94.5 per cent of the rural population by 1986.[56] Successive five-year plans and Education Commissions have continued to be plagued by the same problem of attempting to bring about major changes without a proper blueprint to carry it out. For instance, the second five-year plan begins by saying that the "system of education has a determining influence on the rate at which economic progress is achieved and the benefits which can be derived from it". In the concluding chapter on education it says:

> For economic development to make its full contribution to the well being of the mass of the people, programme of education should be ahead of economic plans. Modern economic development calls for a wide diffusion of the scientific temper of mind, a sense of dignity in labour and discipline in service and a readiness to adapt new techniques and new knowledge to the needs of the people. These values and attitudes will be realized in everyday life in the measure in which they are expressed through educational ideas and practice.[57]

However, it allocated only 35 per cent of the plan resources to education which was below the 56 per cent level in the first five-year plan.[58] Successive plans have similarly demonstrated a concern for equality of opportunity in education to ensure social justice, to provide educational facilities for backward areas and communities and for girls, to improve the education of teachers, to raise standards of education, to provide adult education, etc. But in reality there is a big gap between planning and the promises (see Tables 2 and 3).

Table 3 clearly brings out how India has been struggling to strike a balance between educational planning and its developmental imperatives. In the first twenty years of planning, higher and technical education received high priority due to the manpower requirements of heavy industries. In the next fifteen years, the share of technical education declined and higher education remained steady as the growth reached a saturation point, while elementary education regained a little, as a consequence. In the final phase, the share of elementary, adult and technical education

[55] Government of India, *The Economic Survey*, p. 184.

[56] Ayyar, "Educational Planning", p. 212.

[57] Laxmi Devi et al., "Educational Planning", p. 90.

[58] Jandhyala B.G. Tilak, "Five Decades of Underinvestment in Education", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 32, no. 36, 6 September 1997, p. 2239.

Table 2
Plan and Non-plan Expenditure on Education in Centre and States (Revenue Account) (Rupees, in 10 millions)

	Plan Expenditure			*Non-plan Expenditure*			*Total (Plan + Non-plan)*		
Year	*Centre*	*States*	*Total*	*Centre*	*State*	*Total*	*Centre*	*State*	*Total*
1968–69	24	69	93	20	536	556	44	605	649
	(26)	(74)	(100)	(4)	(96)	(100)	(7)	(93)	(100)
1971–72	39	101	140	33	822	855	72	922	995
	(28)	(72)	(100)	(4)	(96)	(100)	(7)	(93)	(100)
1981–82	86	262	348	155	3,287	3,442	241	3,549	3,790
	(25)	(75)	(100)	(5)	(96)	(100)	(6)	(94)	(100)
1987–88	772	750	1,521	430	8,479	909	1,202	228	10,430
	(51)	(49)	(100)	(5)	(95)	(100)	(12)	(88)	(100)
1996–97	3,441	4,458	7,899	1,092	27,593	28,685	4,533	32,051	36,584
	(44)	(56)	(100)	(4)	(96)	(100)	(12)	(88)	(100)

Notes: Figures in brackets show percentage share.
Source: Government of India, *Spreading the Light of Education, Programme for Commemoration of 50th Anniversary of India's Independence* (New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resources Development, 1997), p. 26.

gradually increased as the National Policy on Education (1986) completely reordered the priorities in accordance with the developmental requirements and in response to liberalization drives.[59]

The New Educational Policy of 1986 (along with its Programme of Action), was updated in 1992 after the 1990 Jomtien Conference on Education for All had sought to redefine priorities, with emphasis on universal elementary education. As a result, a host of measures such as Operation Blackboard (1986), District Institute of Education and Training (1988), Total Literacy Campaign (1988), Minimum Level of Learning (1989), District Primary Education Programme (DPEP, 1994) and Non-formal Education for out of school children as well as adults were taken. Simultaneously, by the 73rd and 74th Amendments of the Constitution in the 1990s, the responsibility to establish and maintain primary educational institutions was transferred to the panchayati raj institutions at the village, block and district levels. However, despite assistance from such international organizations as the World Bank, UNICEF, European Community (EC) and Overseas Development Agency (ODA) of

[59] Ayyar, "Educational Planning", p. 212. Jandhyala B.G. Tilak has divided this period into four phases, namely 1951–56, 1956–59, 1969–86 and the post–1986 period. The first phase attached high priority to education, the second was marked by a decline in resource allocation along with doubling or trebling of allocations to higher education. The third phase was marked by a reversal of these trends and finally the fourth phase was one of renewed emphasis on elementary education with the tone set by the National Policy on Education of 1986.

Table 3
Percentage Expenditure of Education Departments of Centre and State Governments by Sectors

	Year	*EE*	*SE*	*AE/Spl Edn*	*TE*	*HE*	*Others*	*Total*
Centre	1951–52	18.7	26.2	4.2	NA	22.3	28.6	100.0
States		48.0	18.7	5.4	NA	10.5	17.5	100.0
Total		46.1	19.1	5.3	NA	11.2	18.2	100.0
Centre	1961–62	4.5	10.2	0.9	NA	44.1	40.3	100.0
States		43.9	22.0	5.4	NA	9.8	18.8	100.0
Total		40.0	20.8	5.0	NA	13.3	21.0	100.0
Centre	1971–72	0.0	0.7	NA	28.8	47.1	23.5	100.0
States		44.7	31.7	2.2	3.6	9.5	8.4	100.0
Total		41.4	29.4	2.0	5.4	12.2	9.5	100.0
Centre	1981–82	4.4	9.8	4.2	24.2	45.6	11.7	100.0
States		46.5	33.9	0.5	2.7	13.2	3.2	100.0
Total		43.8	32.3	0.8	4.1	15.3	3.7	100.0
Centre	1986–87	5.1	20.1	7.0	23.6	39.1	5.1	100.0
States		49.3	31.7	0.7	2.9	12.2	3.3	100.0
Total		45.9	30.8	1.2	4.5	14.2	3.4	100.0
Centre	1987–88	17.8	20.4	4.9	21.9	27.5	7.6	100.0
States		50.3	32.2	0.8	2.9	12.0	1.7	100.0
Total		46.6	30.9	1.3	5.1	13.9	2.4	100.0
Centre	1991–92	16.5	23.8	6.1	18.4	28.9	6.3	100.0
States		49.3	34.0	0.7	2.9	11.4	1.7	100.0
Total		46.3	33.1	1.2	4.3	13.0	2.1	100.0
Centre	1996–97	50.9	15.9	5.0	10.7	15.7	1.7	100.0
States		50.0	32.7	0.5	3.1	10.9	2.9	100.0
Total		50.1	30.6	1.0	4.0	11.5	2.7	100.0

Notes: EE-Elementary Education, SE-Secondary Education, AE-Adult Education, TE-Technical Education, HE-Higher Education.

Source: GOI, *Spreading the Light*, p. 27.

UK, and so on these different programmes would require at least ten years to show their impact on the status of elementary education in the country. Whether or to what extent these measures would change the situation or whether they would also fizzle out like earlier numerous ad hoc measures, is an issue of interest for the educational planners and policy formulators in India.[60]

In the post-liberalization phase two features of educational planning in India are noticeable. They are: dependence on foreign resources for both expansion and improvement of primary education and privatization of higher education. Privatization of education was not a new phenomenon, but the rapid spread of private interests in higher education has few parallels. The Jomtien Conference was the turning point when the developed world focused its attention on the education scene in the

[60] Arun Mehta, "Education for All: Enrolment Projections in India", *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration*, vol. vii, no. 1, January, 1994, pp. 63–79.

developing world in a substantive way. Jomtien came to symbolize a structurally adjusted, emergent political economy of education. The origin of the concept of universal schooling then began to be traced to the Jomtien Conference rather than to the Indian Constitution. Though it is still too early to assess the impact of the structural adjustment programmes on education it seems that the entrenched regional inequality has enabled the more literate and economically better-off states to benefit more than the really needy ones. Equally worrisome is the fact that the quality of education is being defined increasingly in terms of "technical and managerial efficiency", without any reference to its philosophical foundations. The tendency of locating quality in an ambience that does not recognize the social or philosophical aims of education is seen, for instance, in the concept of "minimum levels of learning". Such tendencies in the wake of structural adjustment policies belittle the importance of a holistic perspective in pedagogy.[61]

Due to the failure of the state to provide education as enshrined in the Constitution, private interests have exploited the system for profit motives. The perception of the quality of state-run schools as being low and the slow response of established educational institutions to open new courses in response to market demands unleashed by the liberalization policies, make it easy for private interests to flourish. Further, the whole process of educational development itself is being subverted to benefit private interests. Private colleges insist on minimal merit conditions for admission; monetary, political or other non-academic considerations determine who gets admission in some of the most sought after courses. The exorbitant fees charged by them help only a privileged minority leading to further social inequalities. Private initiatives in education in India can be seen as a response to the interests of various entrenched powerful groups in business, caste, or politics. Knowledge is increasingly sought to be placed in the domain of private property. The wholesale privatization of education has resulted in the lowering of standards, the increase in social inequalities and the enhancement of opportunities for the dominant sections of society, thereby perpetuating the élitist social base. The State seems to constantly miss the point that expenditure on education is not just consumption, but investment in human capital. The role of the welfare state needs to be emphasized, as there is a danger that the liberalization of the economy and the privatization of education could lead to further deprivations in society.[62]

[61] For a brief but critical evaluation of the foreign aid in education and the emerging political economy of education which could have potentially negative effects, see Krishna Kumar, "Learning and Money: Children as Pawns in Dependency Game", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 30, no. 43, 28 October 1995, pp. 2719–20.

[62] For an intensive case study in one state, see Rekha Kaul, *Caste, Class and Education: Politics of the Capitation Fee Phenomenon in Karnataka* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993). On the adverse equity effects of the private schools, and official data which underplay the private schools' role and tend to exaggerate that of the government schools, see Geeta G. Kingdon, "Private Schooling in India: Size, Nature and Equity-Effects", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 31, no. 51, 21 December 1996, pp. 3306–14.

The structural adjustment programme imposed through IMF lending presumes cuts in spending on social sectors. This had led the World Bank to offer the "Social Safety Net" which refers to loans at a slightly lower rate of interest. The opening up of basic education to external aid has resulted in the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP). Though the DPEP funds account for just about 5 per cent of total expenditure on elementary education, it has been dictating the agenda for basic education in India. There is a clear indication that the commitments of the Indian government are being compromised to adjust to the Fund/Bank directives.[63]

Despite the fact that the gross enrolment ratio in classes I–V increased from 42.6 per cent in 1950–51 to 104.3 per cent in 1995–96 and in classes VI–VIII from 12.7 per cent to 67.6 per cent and the number of primary schools and upper primary schools rose from 210,000 and 14,000 in 1950–51 to 590,000 and 171,000 in 1995–96, pushing the literacy rate from 18.3 per cent in 1951 to 52.2 per cent in 1991, the investment necessary for quality improvement and infrastructure facilities is far below the required minimum of 2 per cent. Considering the continuing low level of budgetary allocation on physical capital formation such as buildings, libraries and laboratories as well as sports and extracurricular facilities, it is hardly surprising that many primary schools are run in open space, hazardous, incomplete, makeshift brick structures and unfurnished classrooms.[64] The government policies of the 1990s, which legitimize gradual abdication of the role of the state in the realm of education,[65] are likely to have an extremely retrogressive impact on the future of educational planning in a developing country like India. Such policy directives are not only violative of the Constitutional obligation towards free and compulsory education for all but can also institutionalize a social reproduction mechanism that would create and perpetuate a bipolar society of rich-privileged-educated-rich and poor-unprivileged-uneducated-poor.[66]

[63] See Vinod Raina, "Elementary Education and Literacy: Seeking Sense amidst Populism and Liberalisation", *The Indian Economy 1998–99: An Alternative Survey* (Delhi: Delhi Science Forum, 1999) pp. 163–69.

[64] Tilak, "Five Decades", p. 2240. Tilak has argued that had the pattern of intra-sectoral allocation of resources in the education field been adopted in the first five-year plan, universalisation of elementary education would have been an easy task if not already accomplished by now.

[65] See K. Seeta Prabhu, "Structural Adjustment and Financing of Elementary Education: The Indian Experience", *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration*, vol. 9, no. 1, January, 1995, pp. 27–43. On the basis of statistical evidence regarding the share of state government expenditure on social services and education for the period 1990–91 to 1993–94, this research paper points to a lack of a clear-cut policy on the development of the education sector in general, and elementary education in particular, during the structural adjustment period, showing a decline in the share of allocations in the total revenue expenditure of the union government, though there is an enhancement in the allocation on elementary education at the expense of higher education. Further, it also argues that the change in real per capita education expenditure growth has generally been negative for most states during the adjustment years.

[66] The Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan (Central Schools Organization), set up in 1965, funds a chain of 771 schools in the country with the aim of providing education facilities to children of

Implementation of the Plan

Irrespective of the nature of the plan, its implementation would depend on the following:

1. A state-sponsored institutional mechanism, with an in-built system of administrative accountability to ensure active participation of the masses;
2. a well-qualified and trained cadre of teachers with sufficient incentives for economic and professional mobility to ensure their motivation and commitment towards the goal of mass education; and
3. a continuous supply of financial resources to support the administrative efforts to ensure mass participation by not only creating the infrastructure but also by providing financial incentives to the participating household.

Institutional Mechanism and Administration

As far as the institutional mechanism and administration is concerned, Japan appears to have done better than China or India. Within the ambit of a highly centralized bureaucratic machinery, based on the French pattern, the government preferred decision making in education by a technocratic élite, rather than by a popularly elected body. Japan adopted a three-tiered administrative mechanism consisting of prefectures (including metropolises), county districts and municipalities and villages. Each of these units had an assembly elected by limited franchise and nominated governors, district chiefs and mayors/village heads respectively. But all were "subject to the supreme control" of the central government, which could both impose its will on the local units as well as veto their initiatives, particularly in such politically sensitive areas as "the management of police affairs, public works, hygiene, education."[67]

The central control over "educational objectives, methods, teaching regulations, textbooks, teachers and pupils was further strengthened in 1891".[68] In order to ensure strict compliance with the centrally formulated policy directives in this regard and other regulations issued by the Ministry of Education from time to time, Japan continued with its aristocratic and autocratic traditions of the Tokugawa times. All the functionaries were to periodically report to the higher authorities for appropriate action. The bureaucracy was also kept under strict surveillance to check false reporting and fraudulent practices, and strict punitive action was taken

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transferable central government employees. The Navodya Vidalaya Samiti (Navodaya Schools Society), set up in 1987, with the mandate of setting up in each district a pace-setting school to provide good quality education to talented children from the rural areas, has succeeded in setting up schools in 280 districts out of the 454, but privatization efforts are likely to undo this modest achievement as well. Ayyar, "Educational Planning", p. 208.

[67] Quoted as an 1888 law in Marshall, *Learning to be Modern*, p. 81.

[68] Ibid., p. 83.

against the guilty officials.[69] Japan's institutional mechanism, through constant monitoring and revision of policy measures to accommodate the local needs, underlines the state's strong commitment to education.

In contrast, both China and India, despite having developed a very sound institutional apparatus failed to achieve the goal of mass education, either because of lack of a strong commitment of the state or because of the inherent contradictions within the institutional mechanism.

In the case of China, its huge administrative-cum-implementation apparatus could have been used to promote standards, maintain uniformity and discipline, and attain mass literacy had it not been weakened by the contradictory pulls of centralization and decentralization, which was the hallmark of China's political system.[70] While centralization was intended to ensure uniform ideological indoctrination, decentralization aimed at accomplishing mass participation. In reality, however, this dual-track approach resulted in numerous autonomous administrative units getting saddled with high-handed party officials and red tape, and low level of accountability. Both teachers and party officials did not remain accountable to the maintenance of educational standards, quality of teachers, discipline and ensuring people's participation. Such tendencies provided scope for favouritism in matters of admissions, examinations and permissions to study abroad. There were many instances of bribing teachers to alter candidates' test results, attempts to steal examination papers, violence against teachers by party officials and their relatives, etc. While high-handed party officials prevailed in ensuring preferential treatment for their children and their favourites, low wages and poor working conditions for teachers

[69] For instance, a case of graft involving texts was investigated by the government in 1901, leading to the discovery of bribery of 10,000 yen by Kinkodo Publishing House to local education officials, government school inspectors and political party functionaries. As the investigation proceeded, the public learned through newspapers that this was not an isolated case but an incident of widespread corruption involving tens of thousands of yen paid out by as many as twenty publishing houses. By the end of 1902, the government prosecutors brought charges against a total of 152 individuals, including principals of elementary, middle, and normal schools, other school officials, and bureaucrats as well as publishers. Eventually 112 were convicted. Ibid., p. 84.

[70] These two competing tendencies were referred to respectively as the branch dictates (*tiaotiao zhuansheng*) and the area dictates (*kuaikuai zhuanzheng*). The former pertained to a central, ministry top-down administrative style and the latter to local, CCP (or other committee) administrative and management system. The line of direction ran towards the central (the branch dictates) during 1950–58 and in early 1960s, and was re-introduced in 1980, while decentralization (the area dictates) tendencies were most visible during the Great Leap Forward, and the Cultural Revolution. During the periods of centripetal tendencies (branch dictates), one-man management was dominant, with school principals, university administrators and ministry heads granted authority in preference to local CCP committees and leading groups, while during the centrifugal phases local units such as the communes, the CCP committees and the factories and their three-in-one committees were urged to establish and maintain their schools in accordance with their own particular needs. J.N. Hawkins, "Educational Management and Administration: Competing Strategies", in J.N. Hawkins, ed., *Education and Social Change in Peoples's Republic of China*, pp. 60–61.

and dilapidated infrastructure facilities failed to motivate both the teachers and the students to continue in the school for long.[71]

India too displayed a similar degree of indifference with regard to the realization of its educational goals set by successive plans and committees. This was despite the fact that it had an elaborate administrative mechanism from the national level down to the village level. The problems related to accountability and responsibility. In fact, the national government which remained at the top, had a diminished role till 1976, since education was not the responsibility of the central government.[72]

As far as the bottom level was concerned, the locally elected bodies, known as the panchayat system, could have been the most effective institutional tool for both monitoring and feedback, but the domineering role played by the provincial governments in everything rendered these village level institutions mere political functionaries.[73] Due to the low priority accorded to the promotion of basic educational facilities, an otherwise well-designed institutional mechanism had to confine its role to routine administration. Consequently, efforts to improve primary education were limited to small-scale pilot programmes in a few states.[74]

Lack of strong commitment to the spread of primary education becomes evident from the declining levels of educational outlays from 56 per cent in the first plan to 29 per cent in the seventh plan, with a corresponding rise in investment in higher education and technical education from 31 per cent in the first plan to 56 per cent in the seventh plan. Further the very idea of the Zakir Hussain Committee (1938) and the Sargeant Report (1944) to make the primary school self-sufficient (by the sale of the crafts produced by the children during their curricular apprenticeship) proved that the state was not prepared to spend much on primary education.

Teachers' Training and Compensation

In the area of developing a cadre of qualified and disciplined teachers also, Japan's political will led to the establishment of an institutionalized structure for training

[71] For those teachers who live in prosperous coastal areas, or who are able to manipulate or circumvent their residence permits to emigrate there, the differences in salary can be striking, amounting to 30 to 50 per cent more than their stipend as teachers. Those who are willing to accept less traditionally prestigious occupations can earn even more. Former teachers who have become taxi drivers or bar girls can earn four to five times their previous salaries. One young woman who had decided on the latter profession noted that its working conditions were better and its hours flexible. June Teufel Dreyer, *China's Political System: Modernization and Tradition* (Houndhills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: Macmillan Press, 1996), p. 223.

[72] The 42nd Amendment of the Constitution, effected in 1976, made education a concurrent subject, i.e., a subject on which both the central and the state governments can now legislate and administer plans and policies. It was only after this amendment that the National Parliament was invested with the authority to formulate national policies for education.

[73] Kerala is such an example, where these village institutions were rendered mere party functionaries. In Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, panchayati raj institutions have come to be viewed as agents of government bureaus rather than as independent bodies. Cf. The World Bank, *Primary Education in India*, p. 206.

[74] Ibid., p. 198.

and certification as well as tests for teachers in the 1870s and 1880s itself. In the case of China, because of ideological factors teachers' training schools were considered necessary in the 1950s and early 1960s but were not given due priority once the teachers were branded as bourgeois intellectuals during 1966–76. India too, despite recommendations by the successive Education Commissions, demonstrated total apathy which was reflected in the poor infrastructure for teachers' training.

As far as the planning and growth of the normal schools in China is concerned, ideological dilemmas and the unattractive emoluments to the teachers adversely affected both the expansion of the teachers' training institutions and large-scale participation of the people (see Table 4). It was only during the post-1978 phase that there was an upward trend, which too was highly inadequate when it came to keeping pace with the growing population of China. But considering the intense ideological debate on the need to have teacher education during the 1950s, and during the Cultural Revolution, teachers' training had to take a back seat both in the planning and the implementation processes. This debate during the Great Leap Forward centred on the question whether the time spent on teachers' training at the cost of specialization in their respective fields was advantageous for a teacher or a school administrator.

Table 4
Number of Teachers in China

Year	*Number of Schools*	*Enrolment*	*Number of Full-time Teachers*
1949	610	151,750	8,956
1952	916	345,163	20,096
1957	592	295,784	15,282
1965	394	155,004	11,430
1978	1,046	359,920	30,271
1985	971	558,165	45,966
1988	998	683,488	57,646

Source: *Basic Education and National Development: Forty Years of Chinese Experience*, A UNICEF-supported Project on Basic Education (Shanghai: Shanghai Institute of Human Resources Development, 1991), p. 101.

An examination-based certificate system for primary teachers who did not meet state standards was proposed in 1986 in order to assess their general and professional knowledge. By 1988, 30,200 primary school teachers had obtained Professional Certificates. Because the teachers' salaries were the lowest compared to other professions, people of merit were not attracted to the teaching profession. Effective monitoring from above as well as the feedback-based adjustments in the policy and administrative measures—as in the case of Japan—were completely absent in the Chinese system further substantiating the State's indifference to basic education. However, there was no shortage of educated volunteer teachers,

who through the various mass organizations or the CPC, played a crucial role in spreading literacy in the rural areas among both adults and children in the two decades after Liberation.

Financial Issues

Financial allocation and measures to generate revenue for primary education act as indicators of the state's political will and commitment towards basic education. In this area too, Japan clearly is much ahead of the other two countries under study. It, however, did not display an unequivocal commitment in matters of financing in the initial phases and it was only after the First World War, when both the indicators of economy as well as of mass participation showed an upward trend that the state gradually took over more and more of the financial burdens.

The very first Education Order of 1872 dealt with the issue of financing by insisting upon payment for education by the beneficiaries; tuition fees from the students were to cover all the expenses and the shortfall was to be made up by the local district authorities by locally generated revenues. The state subsidies were to be limited to the expenses on account of wages for the foreign teachers, construction and maintenance of the school buildings, books and other materials for secondary schools and universities. The orders of 1885, 1886 and 1890 too did not propose any national financial system and reinforced the earlier system of tuition fees as the main source of income. But tuition fees constituted not more than 6 per cent of the total expenditure on the schools during this period. It was in 1900, that for the first time, the exemption of tuition fees was put into effect, and a policy of public financing of compulsory education expenses was formulated.

As is evident from Table 5, it was only after the passage of the Municipal Compulsory Education Law in 1918, and later the Compulsory Education Expenses Liability Law in 1940, that an increase in the state expenditure was noticed. Prior to that, a major portion of the educational costs was borne by the founders of the schools which varied from 70 to 85 per cent of the total expenditure. After 1888, when the local autonomy order was passed, the local governments spent a major part of their tax collection on education. The leading official was authorized to collect money from each house in proportion to its financial status, and expenses were covered by this collection, donations, deposits and interest from these funds, leading to a great increase in public expenditure on education.

Despite financial constraints in the initial phases of nation-building efforts, Japan did make all out efforts to maximize enrolment and attendance by various measures. It also made efforts not only to raise the educational revenue from the various local sources, but also to strictly enforce standards in teaching and attendance by regular inspection tools. Further, Japan, unlike India, attached greater importance to primary education than secondary and higher education, as is evident from Table 6.

In the case of China, the low priority given to *formal* basic education becomes evident from the pattern of the financial allocations to primary education compared to higher education, as well as to other areas of investment. While State educational

Table 5
Expenditure on Education: State and Local (Per cent)

Year	*State*	*Local*			*Total*
		Prefectures	*Cities, Towns, Villages*	*Total*	
1881	10.2	14.3	75.5	89.8	100
1885	9.5	11.2	79.3	90.5	100
1890	9.7	12.4	77.9	90.3	100
1895	11.2	13.2	75.6	88.8	100
1900	14.2	21.6	64.2	85.8	100
1905	13.2	21.2	65.7	86.8	100
1910	10.6	18.5	70.9	89.4	100
1915	11.7	19.0	69.3	88.3	100
1920	14.7	18.5	66.8	85.3	100
1925	22.7	20.9	56.4	77.3	100
1930	31.6	23.4	54.0	68.4	100
1935	30.4	20.7	48.9	69.6	100
1940	40.3	29.7	30.0	59.7	100
1950	46.3	26.0	27.7	53.7	100
1955	47.2	30.5	22.8	52.8	100
1960	48.4	30.3	21.3	51.6	100

Source: Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, *The Role of Education in the Social and Educational Development of Japan* (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1966), p. 108.

expenditure as a percentage of national income has never exceeded 4 per cent (the percentage is even lower if the GNP is used instead of national income, and in 1988 it reached 2.76 per cent), the expenditure on primary education as a percentage of total educational expenditure has been dropping from 54.2 per cent in 1952 to 46.4 per cent in 1957 to 45.6 per cent in 1965 to 34.3 per cent in 1980 to 28.6 per cent in 1985. The perennial financial problems in the educational sector have been sought to be tackled by the Chinese government by ad hoc measures such as the educational taxes and the work study programmes, which are akin to India's strategy to sell handicrafts to raise resources for the schools.

From the very beginning, the emphasis has been on generating finances for the primary schools through local taxation, such as agricultural tax in the rural areas, and a tax on the enterprises in the urban sector. It was stipulated that the collection methods, regulations and rates of the additional taxes should be reported to the superior officers before implementation, and that it should not exceed 15 per cent of the state agricultural tax paid in grain. But considering that each province or prefecture authority was given the right to make necessary adjustments according to the local circumstances of the subordinate counties, the ultimate decision with regard to finance was left to the local supervisory bodies. A number of methods for fundraising for commune primary and secondary schools were also suggested. These included using a certain percentage of public welfare funds, collecting various

Table 6

Educational Expenditures and the Number of Students by Schools (Per cent)

Year	*Total*		*Primary Education*		*Secondary Education*		*Higher Education*		*Teacher Training*	
	A(%)	B(%)	A(%)	B(%)	A(%)	B(%)	A(%)	B(%)	A(%)	B(%)
1885	100	100	84.3	98.9	2.8	0.5	8.3	0.4	4.6	0.2
1890	100	100	76.9	98.6	3.1	0.6	10.9	0.6	9.1	0.2
1895	100	100	77.1	98.3	6.1	1.1	10.2	0.3	6.6	0.3
1900	100	100	67.6	97.0	16.5	2.3	7.0	0.3	8.9	0.4
1905	100	100	64.6	95.8	18.2	3.1	10.2	0.7	7.0	0.4
1910	100	100	68.0	95.6	16.5	3.4	9.6	0.6	5.9	0.4
1915	100	100	65.5	94.7	17.3	4.2	12.0	0.7	5.2	0.4
1920	100	100	67.6	93.8	17.9	5.1	10.6	0.8	3.9	0.3
1925	100	100	61.1	90.2	20.1	8.0	14.6	1.3	4.2	0.5
1930	100	100	58.4	89.2	20.1	8.8	17.8	1.5	3.7	0.5
1935	100	100	61.9	89.3	13.7	9.0	16.9	1.4	2.5	0.3
1940	100	100	55.7	86.7	21.3	11.3	20.1	1.7	2.4	0.3
1950	100	100	41.8	59.3	46.2	38.6	12.0	2.1	–	–
1955	100	100	46.0	57.4	42.3	39.7	11.7	2.9	–	–
1960	100	100	42.4	56.1	44.5	40.7	13.1	3.2	–	–

A = Educational expenditures

B = Number of students

Source: Japanese National Commission, *The Role of Education*, p. 112.

Central universities and a few other institutions were governed by the centre. The Constitution clearly placed the responsibility for higher education on the centre. However, education was brought under the Concurrent List through the Constitutional Amendment of 1976. As a result, education became the responsibility of both the centre and the states. The distribution of expenditure on education between the centre and the states is now determined by the planning commission and the finance commission. The planning commission is concerned with plan (development) expenditure while the finance commission deals with non-plan (maintenance) expenditure. The states contribute about 20 per cent of their budgets to education while the centre spends only a small amount of its budget on education.

A lack of coordination between the centre and the states adversely affects educational planning in India. One would expect the distribution of finances between the centre and states to be guided by rational economic criteria like equity considerations or efficiency aspects. This fact tends to be lost sight of sometimes. For instance, the planning commission gives a "matching grants" to every state. The larger a state's education budget, the larger is the amount that the centre gives it under the matching grant scheme. This means that states, which allocate less money to their education budgets, get less from the centre. This only leads to the worsening of the existing inequalities between states in the sphere of education. Equity considerations dictate that more resources should be distributed to economically and educationally backward states. Ultimately, financial allocations are made on the basis of political considerations.

In a country like India, removing mass illiteracy should have received highest priority. The primary sector should have attracted the bulk of the investments in education. What has been the actual pattern of allocation? Tables 2 and 3 clearly show that India has not given priority to elementary education. The pattern of allocations established in the first five-year plan should have continued. As things stand now, India needs to allocate at least two-thirds of its educational budget to rapidly universalize elementary education.[79]

Achievements and the Impact on the Economy

In this section, we will see the degree to which the countries in question have been successful in raising educational standards of the people and how this has influenced their economic and social development.

Japan

In the Japanese case, even though the state identified education of the masses as a crucial input in the modernization process and drew up elaborate plans for the

[79] Details of how this is worked out can be found out in Jandhyalaya B.G. Tilak, and N.V. Varghese, "Resources for Education for All", *Journal of Education and Social Change*, vol. 4, no. 4, January–March 1990, pp. 24–59.

setting up of schools all over the country, it lacked a total financial commitment to achieve the objective. The state merely shifted the responsibility to local governments which, in turn, passed on part of the financial burden to the parents. Once the state's commitment to the spread of basic education was clearly underlined, it became an easy task. Another factor that helped was the fact that the improving economic situation raised the level of household incomes which, in turn, reduced the financial burden on families with regard to education. When education came to be viewed as a passport to higher economic and social status there was a rise in the demand for education at the popular level. By 1900, education was made compulsory and completely free all over Japan. But by then the Japanese people were convinced about the utility of education and were willing to make short-term sacrifices for the perceived long-term benefits.

Japan did not achieve the goal of mass literacy overnight. The enormous difficulties in a nation's institution-building efforts need to be appreciated. It took Japan the entire forty-five years of the Meiji Era to evolve a stable educational structure, although philosophical issues regarding the aims of education had been resolved fairly early.[80] Its performance with regard to the enrolment and dropout ratios for both boys and girls is presented in Table 7. The enrolment ratio for both boys and girls shows a remarkable increase in a period of three decades beginning from 1881. While the enrolment ratio of girls is low initially, it catches up rapidly from 1895 onwards. The high dropout ratio for girls also rapidly comes down. From Table 8, the rapid improvement in the attendance rates for both boys and girls of schoolgoing age becomes very clear.

Further, in Japan, education induced economic and social mobility; likewise economic and social mobility led to greater interest in education. The common factor was the process of industrialization. As regards the specific modalities through which education played a role in industrialization it would be useful to start with three basic conditions that are necessary for the process of industrialization. These are: accumulation of capital, the supply of an effective labour force, and established leadership. In the case of Japan, capital was provided domestically. The most important source was savings. The rate of savings remained around 20 per cent for the ninety-year period since Japan embarked on industrialization at the start of the modern period. Education in Japan during this period played a key role in supporting and sustaining the family system, which placed high values on modesty and thrift. The adoption of Western industrial processes during this period, while offering a wide range of consumer goods, did not change people's lifestyles substantially. The large gap between income and expenditure on consumption led to a high rate of savings.[81]

The second factor needs to be seen both in quantitative and qualitative terms. In a rapidly industrializing society, massive labour mobility would be indicated by the

[80] Mikio Sumiya and Koji Taira, eds, *An Outline of Japanese Economic History, 1603–1940* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1979), p. 229.

[81] Japanese National Commission, *The Role of Education*, pp. 6–9.

Table 7
Enrolment and Dropout Ratio to the Total School Age Population of Japan (%)

	Males		*Females*	
	Enrolment Ratio	*Dropout Ratio*	*Enrolment Ratio*	*Dropout Ratio*
1881	69.0		34.3	
1885	73.0		41.4	
1890	72.0		38.8	
1895	86.8	28.8	58.8	57.8
1900	90.6	23.2	71.8	35.9
1905	97.7	10.6	93.1	27.3
1910	98.8	21.3	97.4	37.2
1913	98.7	16.8	97.5	27.8
1915		18.8		28.9
1920		11.7		19.3
1925		5.8		28.9
1930		8.7		19.3
1935		1.6		9.7
1940		0.2		10.5

Notes: The table has been compiled by Nobukiyo Takamatsu and Kazushi Ohkawa using various *Yearbooks* of the government along with their own estimates for years for which data were not available. Enrolment ratios for the years after 1913 are not available, but are closer to 100.

Source: Kazushi Ohkawa, *School Education in Modern Japan: Economic Evaluation and Possible Relevance to Contemporary Less Developed Countries* (Tokyo: International Development Center of Japan, 1986), IDCJ Working Paper Series No. 33, p. 5.

Table 8
Attendance Rate of School Age Children for Compulsory Education, Japan 1886–1925 (%)

Year	*Total*	*Boys*	*Girls*
1886	46.33	61.99	29.01
1890	48.93	65.14	31.13
1895	61.24	76.65	43.87
1900	81.48	90.35	71.73
1905	95.62	97.72	93.34
1910	98.14	98.83	97.38
1915	98.47	98.93	97.96
1920	99.03	99.20	98.84
1925	99.43	99.47	99.38

Notes: For later years all the three rates are above 99.50%.

Source: Government of Japan, *Japan's Modern Educational System: A History of the First Hundred Years* (Research and Statistics Division, Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1980).

growing opportunities for employment. In the absence of foreign labour, as was the case in Japan, education facilitated this mobility of labour. The preparatory knowledge provided by the intensive and compulsory educational system lessened the difficulties for the people to move out of their rural setting and to take up industrial jobs in urban areas; most of these people were exposed to the urban areas for the first time in their lives, tied as they were to land for generations through various edicts in the pre-modern Tokugawa period (1603–1868). This was particularly important in the initial years of Japanese modernization. The skills imparted through the education system led to the emergence of a qualitatively better workforce obviating the need for a foreign labour.[82]

The third aspect is a crucial component of the process of industrialization. The nature of the leadership, at the take-off stage of industrialization, substantially affects the speed, scale and content of subsequent development. At the next stage, education plays the important role of giving leadership training to the second line of potential leaders. The samurai class provided the leadership in the initial stages of Japanese industrialization. This class as a whole was well educated and their administration itself had some effects on the spread of education. To put it briefly, in the Japanese case, education first removed the resistance against the ethos of industrialization. It kept to a minimum the friction generated during the transition from a traditional society to an industrializing one. It also awakened the people to realize the importance of investment in education.[83]

China

The literacy rate in China which stood at over 20 per cent in 1949—a good starting point for a developing country at that time—had more than doubled by 1955. Even if many people did not reach a high level of literacy, the achievements through the efforts of the State were substantial. China evolved a school system of six years of primary followed by three years of junior middle school, three years of senior middle school, and six years of university—a system very close to the one followed in the West. This was supplemented by a variety of vocational and technical schools. The entire system was under the strict control and supervision of the Ministry of Education. The Hundred Flowers Campaign of 1957 reinforced the earlier criticism against the system that it was élitist. The anti-rightist campaign and Great Leap Forward, aimed at "broadening and flattening the educational system". In the year 1958 alone, the number of children in kindergarten increased from 1 to 30 million, those in primary schools from 64 to 86 million and in secondary schools from 7 to 10 million. The system was attempting an exponential growth. The strains that such a rapid growth put on the resources and the dilution of the quality of education were inevitable. Simultaneously, intellectuals were frog-marched to the countryside and

[82] Ibid., pp. 9–10.
[83] Ibid., pp. 10–11.

the system came under attack, as was the so-called "bourgeois scientific objectivism". Amidst the chaos of the Cultural Revolution, the school system and teachers—Mao's "stinking ninth category"—came in for a lot of flak.[84]

Since egalitarianism took precedence over expertise during the period from 1966 through 1978, this resulted in the rapid decline of educational standards. But Deng Xiaoping's return to power signalled the emphasis on economic modernization and led to changes in educational policies. Ideology took a backseat and the thrust of education was geared toward meeting economic goals. Subjects like mathematics, science and foreign languages assumed importance and the study of political course lost its earlier pre-eminent position. The evolving system was certainly élitist. Deng's new approach gave birth to its own set of problems, one of which was that the number of illiterates in China actually increased during the early 1980s. One response was the promulgation of a nine-year compulsory education law in 1986. As of the 1990s, 85 per cent of the population in the age group of 15 to 24 had primary level education, about 12.5 per cent of young people had intermediate level education, and about 2 per cent received higher education.[85]

An interim evaluation of China's experimentation with the education system in the past half a century underlines the debate/dispute between a political and broadly egalitarian system and an élitist system that emphasized technical specialization. What is relevant to our discussion is the fact that the literacy rate shot up from 25 per cent in 1949 to 85 per cent during the 1990s. Despite numerous deficiencies of the system, this is a noteworthy achievement. The negative sides also cannot be glossed over. There are currently 180 million illiterates in the country. The average educational level of 4.5 years is indicative of the fact that people do not possess a high level of literacy. Ninety-two per cent of China's illiterates live in the rural areas, and 70 per cent of them are women. The illiteracy rate in Tibet is over 44 per cent. Young and middle-aged illiterates who numbered 36 million a few years back have risen to over 52 million in 1995. Dropout rates have been rising making the universalization of compulsory education more difficult. Many problems stem from a lack of adequate funding.[86]

While the quality of education seems to have suffered, Deng Xiaoping's reforms have resulted in a system that is neither red nor expert. In 1993, China spent 2.66 per cent of its GNP on education; this is a very low figure when compared with 6.1 per cent in the developed world, 4.1 per cent in the developing countries, 4.6 per cent in Asia as a whole and 5.5 per cent for all countries of the world. The current situation is best described as one in which an inadequate educational system is seriously affecting the level and pace of economic development, while inadequate economic development sets limits on investment in education.[87]

[84] Dreyer, *China's Political System*, pp. 213–14.
[85] Ibid., pp. 216–21.
[86] Ibid., pp. 228–29.
[87] Ibid., pp. 229–30.

India

No serious attempt seems to have been made in the pre-Independence days in India to spread literacy among the masses as becomes evident from Table 9. In relative terms the literacy rate in the post-Independence period seems impressive. But one should not lose sight of the fact that the performance of independent India in this field is very poor when compared with other countries during this period. Notwithstanding the empty rhetoric, achieving total literacy by 2007 would be impossible.

Table 9
Literacy Rates in India, Selected Years, 1881–1997 (Per cent)

Year	*Literacy Rate*
1881	6.3
1911	7.3
1931	9.3
1951	18.3
1961	28.3
1971	34.5
1981	43.7
1991	52.2
1997	62.0

Notes: Literacy rates for 1881–1931 are for persons 10 years old and above, rates for 1951–71 are for persons 5 years old and above, and rates for 1981 and 1991 are for persons 7 years old and above.

Source: World Bank, *Development in Practice: Primary Education in India* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1997), p. 16 and Government of India, *Selected Educational Statistics 1997–98* (New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resource Development, 1999).

Public primary schools have been rapidly set up. Now there are nearly 600,000 of these schools all over the country. There are about 185,000 secondary schools and about 100,000 high schools. There are nearly 7,200 colleges for general education while those for professional education number over 2,000. Universities, deemed universities and institutions of national importance put together are around 229. As of 1997, over 108 million students have been enrolled in grades I to V, over 39 million in grades VI to VIII and about 18 million in grades IX to X. As many as 95 per cent of the primary schools are available within a walking distance of 1 kilometre. Adult literacy rates have grown from 18 per cent in 1951 to 62 per cent in 1997, a more than three-fold increase. Female literacy has shown a dramatic rise from 9 per cent to 50 per cent in the same period.

On the negative side, there are 35 million children still out of school. Thirty-seven per cent of all primary school children drop out before reaching grade V. India has the largest illiterate population in the world. It spends just about 3.5 per cent of its GNP on education. School attendance, completion of study, quality of education and basic infrastructural facilities are major areas of concern. Five per cent of the

primary schools are more than 1 kilometre away from the students. Eighty-four per cent of the primary schools have no latrines. While 58 per cent of the primary schools have no safe drinking water, 42 per cent of them have no playground. Eight per cent of the schools have no building and 14 per cent are functioning in mud or thatched huts.[88]

One feature of Indian education, which deserves attention, is the low spread of education. As per the 53rd round of the National Sample Survey India has an overall literacy rate of 62 per cent for the population in the age group of 7 years and above category for the year 1997. Education policy in post-Independence India has suffered from various problems. These would include: lack of clearly defined objectives, inconsistencies between stated goals and actual policy, and contradiction between stated goals and resource allocation. An offshoot of the last point, for instance, is the widespread acceptance of child labour for boys and girls belonging to poor families, while the privileged classes have perpetuated their access to heavily subsidized higher education.[89]

The priority given to higher education by the élite in the colonial period was accentuated after Independence. The investment patterns in education were dictated not by economic criteria but by the vested interests of the ruling élite and by misconceptions about the role of education. Higher education grew at 10 per cent per annum in the 1960s while elementary education grew at the rate of 2 to 3 per cent. The first twenty-five years after Independence saw the number of universities in India grow by more than four times and double over the next twenty-five years. The culturally dominant and economically stronger sections of society exploited the resources of the state to consolidate their grip on the expanding status apparatus of new functions and opportunities.[90]

Between states too, there are vast differences with the literacy rate for Kerala being over 90 per cent and that for Rajasthan at 41 per cent. Within states there are huge differences between urban and rural areas and between the socially disadvantaged groups like the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and others. A few districts in Kerala with near total literacy hold the best known performance. Premnagar block in Madhya Pradesh, with an overall literacy rate of about 4 per cent, is the worst case. The female literacy rate in this block stands at an abysmal 1.04 per cent.[91]

There are a number of studies that have looked into the economic impact of education in India.[92] All the studies using different techniques like aggregate

[88] Cf. Haq, *Human Development*, pp. 48–71.

[89] Cf. Dreze and Sen, eds, *India: Economic Development*, pp. 119–20.

[90] See Krishna Kumar, "Education and New Economic Regime", Paper presented at the Conference on Economic Development and Quality of Life in South Asia, 27–28 November 1999, Hiroshima, Japan (mimeo), p. 12.

[91] P. Sainath, *Everybody Loves a Good Drought: Stories from India's Poorest Districts* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 1996), p. 362.

[92] These are neatly given in summary form in the chapter on "Economic and Social Outcomes as Justification for Investing in Primary Education", in the World Bank, *Primary Education in India*, pp. 30–54.

production functions, enterprise-based production functions, and rate-of-return analysis, etc., have come to the same conclusion: the returns on education in India are positive. It has been found that a one-year increase in the average education level of the workforce can raise output by 13 per cent. Tables 10 and 11 would testify that larger the spread of education as seen through literacy rates, the higher is the economic development of the region or social group and hence the higher the per capita income.

Table 10
Poverty and Literacy Profile of Indian States (Rural Areas)

State	*Per Capita Income (Rs Per Annum)*	*Persons below Absolute Poverty Line (%)*	*Literacy Rate Age 7+ (%)*
Punjab	6,380	32	60
Haryana	6,368	27	55
Kerala	5,778	30	90
Maharashtra	5,525	34	58
Gujarat	5,288	39	59
Andhra Pradesh	5,046	21	50
Rajasthan	4,229	40	41
Uttar Pradesh	4,185	40	47
Himachal Pradesh	4,168	45	68
Bihar	3,691	42	44
West Bengal	3,157	51	59
Orissa	3,028	55	55
Average for Rural India	4,485	39	54

Source: Mahbub ul Haq, *Human Development in South Asia 1997* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 32.

Table 11
Literacy Profile in Rural India by Income and Social Groups

Income and Social Groups		*Adult Literacy Rate (%)*
Income Groups		
(Household incomes per year)		
Up to Rs. 20,000		45
Above Rs. 62,000		72
Social Groups		
Hindus	Male	72
	Female	45
Muslims	Male	55
	Female	46
Scheduled Castes	Male	53
	Female	28

Source: Haq, *Human Development*, p. 32.

India's spending on education has been low and it will need a massive effort to have any meaningful impact. A major way of linking economic growth and human lives in India would be to increase investment in education. While the Republic of Korea spends about $160 on education and health for every person annually, India spends a paltry sum of $14.[93]

The recent upsurge in economic activity as reflected in the GNP growth rates of about 5 per cent a year has not brought any substantial benefit to the masses. A major factor that is responsible for this is India's backwardness in human development. It has shown a total neglect towards improving its human capital. As much as two-thirds of the Indian poor are "capability-poor". In other words, they do not receive the minimum level of education and health care necessary for "functioning human capabilities". This leads to a situation where a third of the total number of absolute poor in the world is found in India. India, therefore, needs "a massive investment in human development".[94]

Conclusion

The validity of the first hypothesis depends on the availability of more and more economic opportunities and the resultant benefits to the society as well as the perception of the people regarding education as a means of upward economic mobility. Considering that basic educational attainments do not immediately bring economic benefits (while it does create economic hardships by way of loss of labour for the household economy), the state's ability to successfully persuade the household to spare the child for education would require a system of state subsidy or economic security for the family. The abolition of the tuition fees in 1900 played a crucial role in the case of Japan. Only China could provide some level of economic security to persuade the families to participate in educational programmes. China's case is unique because of the systemic compulsions. During Mao's rule what was more important for the leadership was the empowering role of literacy and education, not the two-way relationship between education and economic development. In the post-1978 phase, both the above-mentioned factors moved in the opposite direction, that is economic opportunities widened and literacy levels dropped. The search for economic security was directly linked to de-prioritization of schooling. India, however, clearly demonstrated the strong linkage between basic education and economic development. While the pre-liberalization era in India was marked both by a slow movement of economic opportunities and educational attainments, the post-liberalization phase registered a rapid upward trend in both, validating our first hypothesis. The absence of state subsidy to provide economic security and the slow pace in the growth of economic opportunities resulted in a slow growth in literacy rates till the 1980s. The liberalization wave of the 1990s, on the contrary, witnessed a marked increase in the overall literacy rates, from 52 per cent in 1991 to

[93] Ibid., p. 32.

[94] Unsurprisingly, India stands at the 135th rank on the Human Development Index computed for 174 nations of the world. Haq, *Human Development*, pp. 31–35.

62 per cent in 1997. There was also a tremendous opening up of new areas of economic activity leading to more and more job opportunities. There was a qualitative change in the people's perception with regard to the linkage between educational attainments and economic opportunities.

As far as the second hypothesis is concerned, we find it difficult to arrive at a common model of mutual reciprocity for all the three countries in view of divergent experiences in both planning and implementation. Whereas in Japan, strong political commitment to ensure rapid dissemination of education helped even in finding alternative methods to meet acute shortage of resources, China due to its highly decentralized nature of planning, financing and administration of education coupled with an absence of opportunities for upward economic mobility could provide a tremendous stimulus to educational mobility. As regards India, the absence of opportunities for economic mobility coupled with a low level of political commitment proved to be the main stumbling block to the progress of educational attainments. In other words, Japan, despite many difficulties in the initial decades of its developmental efforts, could succeed within a period of less than half a century in reaching a near-universal level of literacy. It is true that Japan, with a tradition of education, began its planning with an advantage but that advantage could easily have been neutralized completely had there been no strong political will. The fact that Japan started with a literacy level of 40 per cent for males and 15 per cent for females could have stagnated or even declined in the absence of adequate planning and implementation efforts. In the initial two decades Japan too faced people's opposition to the Westernization of education that appeared to challenge Japanese tradition. However, it was determined to lead the nation by means of compulsory education, conscription and industrialization, through policy adjustments that accommodated mass sentiments. Whether the structure of the education system or the content of education was consciously designed to serve the political interest or not is a matter of secondary importance to our hypothesis; what is certain is that without political will no amount of planning would have succeeded in realizing the goals. China too in the initial years of planning faced severe economic problems, but the absence of opportunities for upward economic mobility proved to be a blessing in disguise in promoting high levels of literacy within a period of less than thirty years. The fact that mass participation was promoted through the activities of various mass organizations under the auspices of the CCP, at the local and commune levels was not a matter of conscious policy decision by the centre. Similarly, the financing of education was also not a central initiative. To that extent the success story of China has to be accepted as a by-product of a political process rather than an intended policy decision. Coming to India, by continuing the inherited élitist tradition of higher education, it showed a bias against basic education as demonstrated by a progressively declining budgetary allocation for basic education. There is no evidence to show India's effort to ensure community participation except for intermittent populist measures like midday meal schemes.

May 2000

Also from Sage

Women, War and Peace in South Asia

Beyond Victimhood to Agency

editor
Rita Manchanda

Perhaps the first to develop a gender analysis of conflict in South Asia, this volume challenges the centrality of men's experiences and theorisations of conflict. Instead, it focuses on women's experiences as representing alternative and non-violent ways of negotiating the construction of conflictual identities, and on women's perspectives which privilege the notion of a 'just' peace. The six chronicles presented here span the gamut of the conflict ridden South Asian region from Kashmir in the north to Tamil women in Sri Lanka; from those caught in the Muttahid Quami Movement in Pakistan to women in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh; and to women trapped in tribal conflicts in Assam and Nagaland and the Maoist insurgency in Nepal.

Threaded through the chronicles is the controversial theme of the dualism of 'loss and gain'. The societal upheaval which accompanies any protracted conflict opens up public spaces for women and brings about social changes which assist women's empowerment. Yet, it is at precisely these times, as the chronicles show, that the impulse towards women's autonomy is circumscribed by the nationalistic project which casts women in the role of the guardians of the community's acceptable traditions and cultural identity.

This vital and timely contribution to an understanding of women's neglected yet crucial role in times of war and peace highlights the way in which women manage survival and reconstruction. It will interest students and scholars of gender studies, conflict and peace studies, political science and psychology as well as the lay reader.

Contents: *Acknowledgements*/Where Are the Women in South Asian Conflicts? **Rita Manchanda**/Guns and *Burqa*: Women in the Kashmir Conflict **Rita Manchanda**/Ambivalent Empowerment: The Tragedy of Tamil Women in Conflict **Darini Rajasingham-Senanayake**/Between Two Armed Patriarchies: Women in Assam and Nagaland **Paula Banerjee**/'They Use Us and Others Abuse Us': Women in the MQM Conflict **Anis Haroom**/Where There Are No Men: Women in the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal **Shobha Gautam, Amrita Banskota and Rita Manchanda**/Women's Narratives from the Chittagong Hill Tracts **Meghna Guhathakurta**/*About the Editor and Contributors*/*Index*

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